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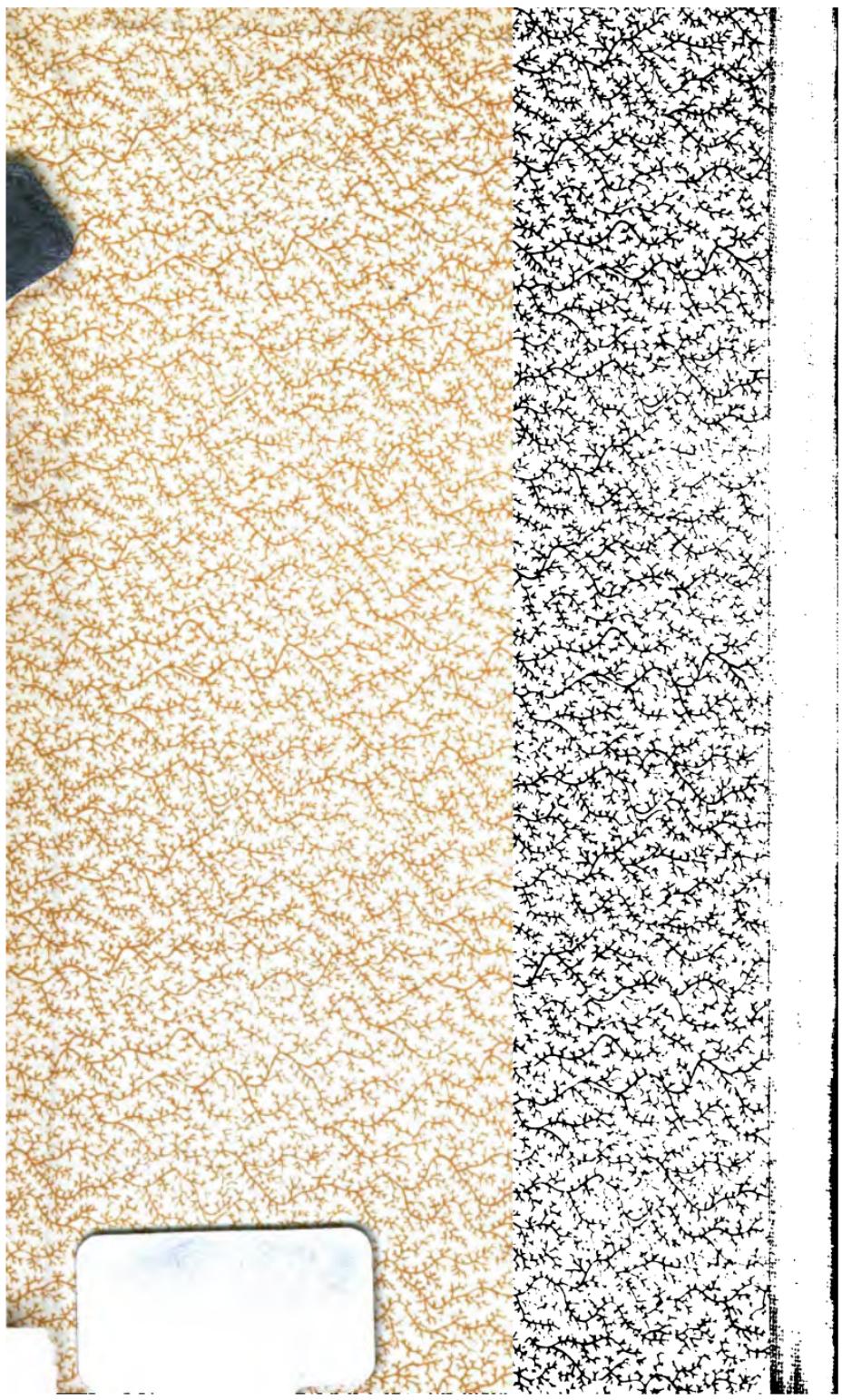
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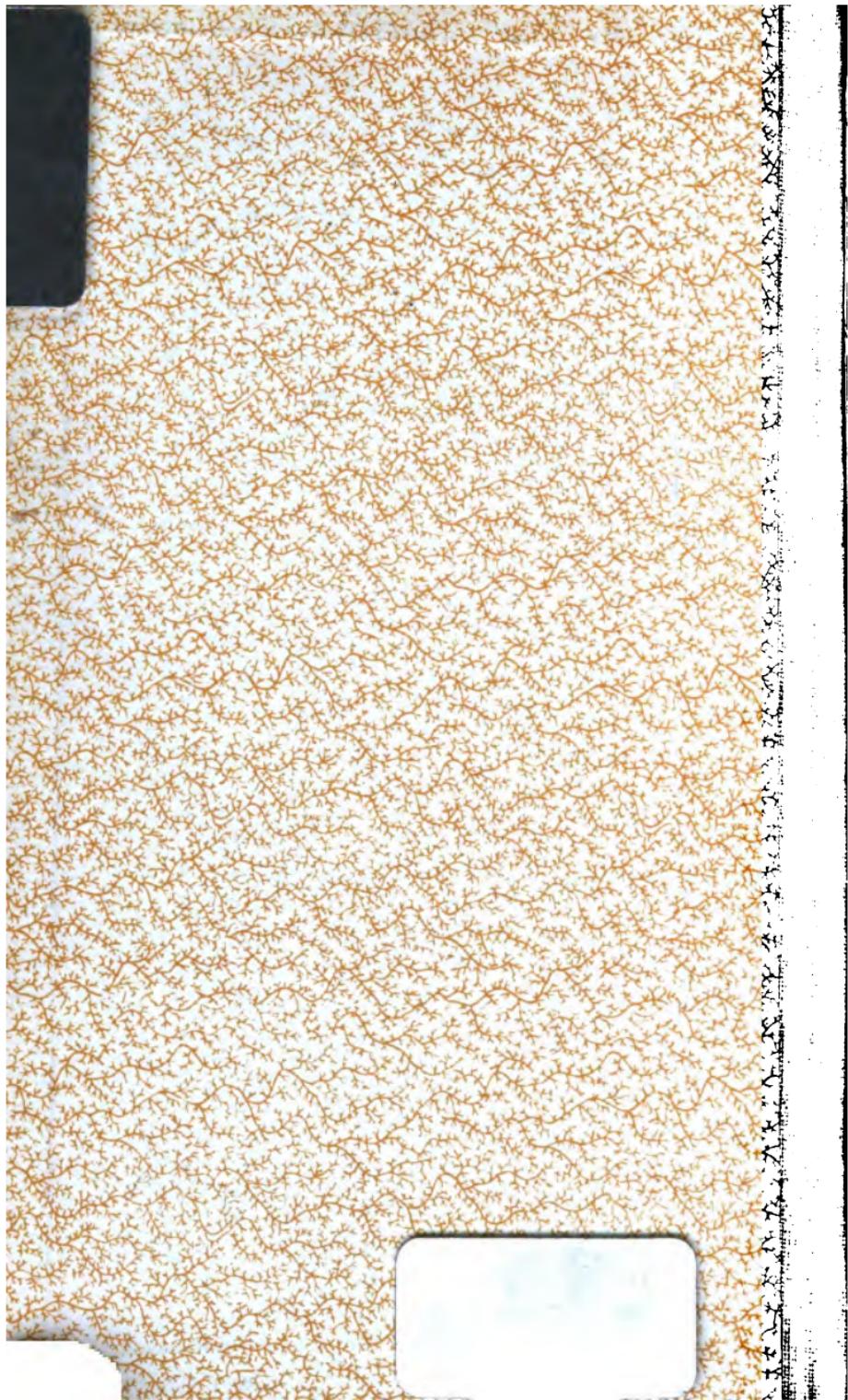
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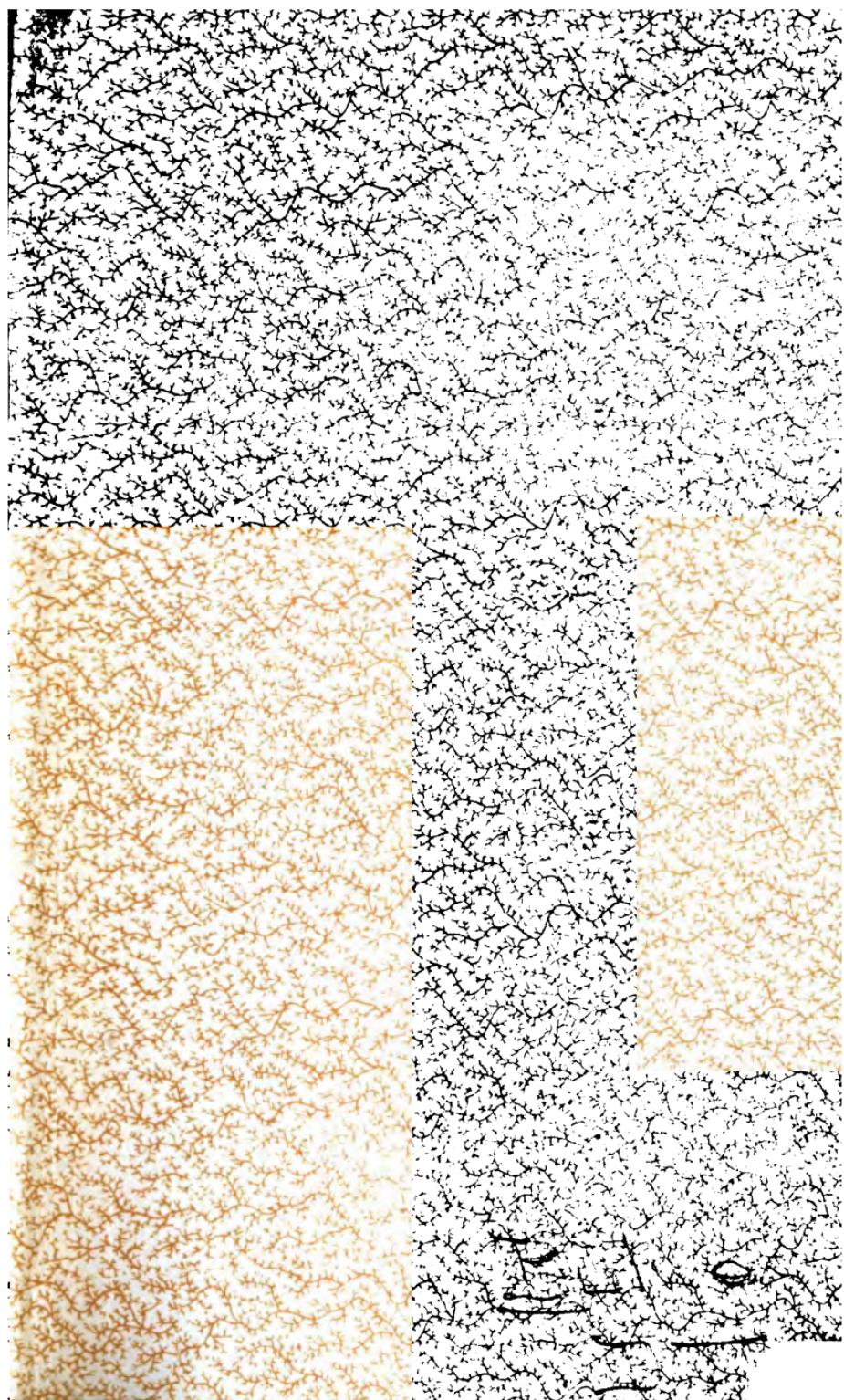
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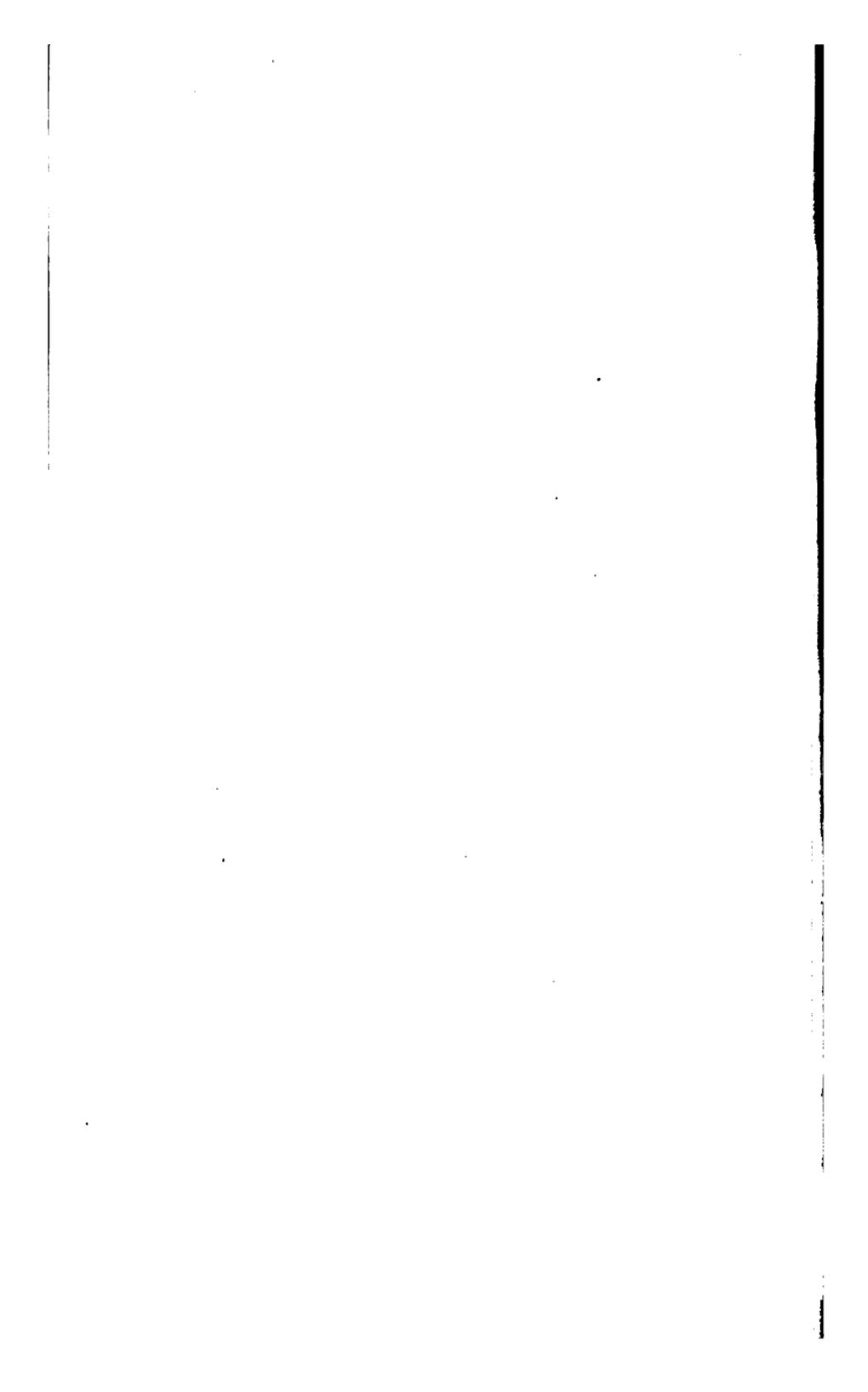
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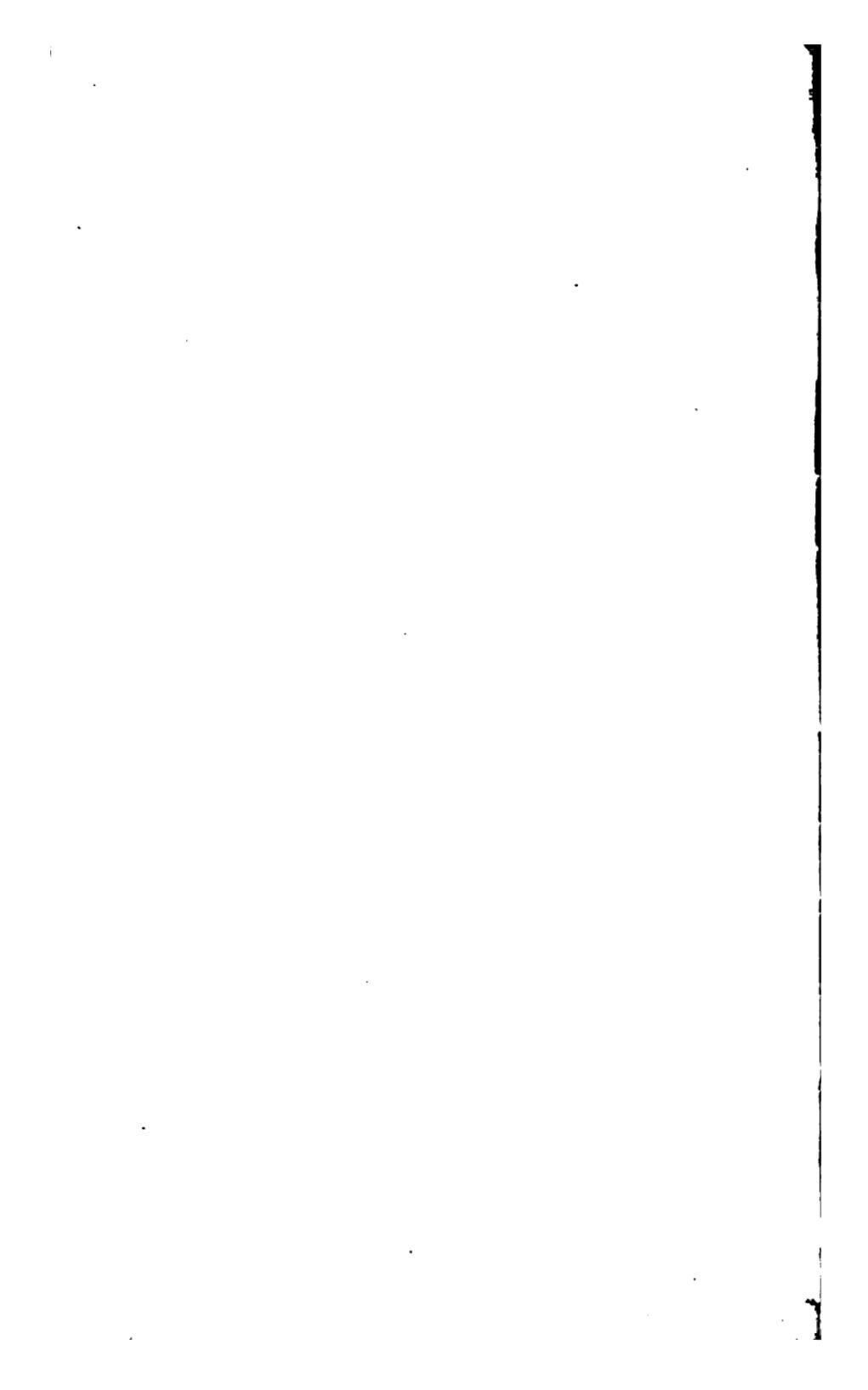








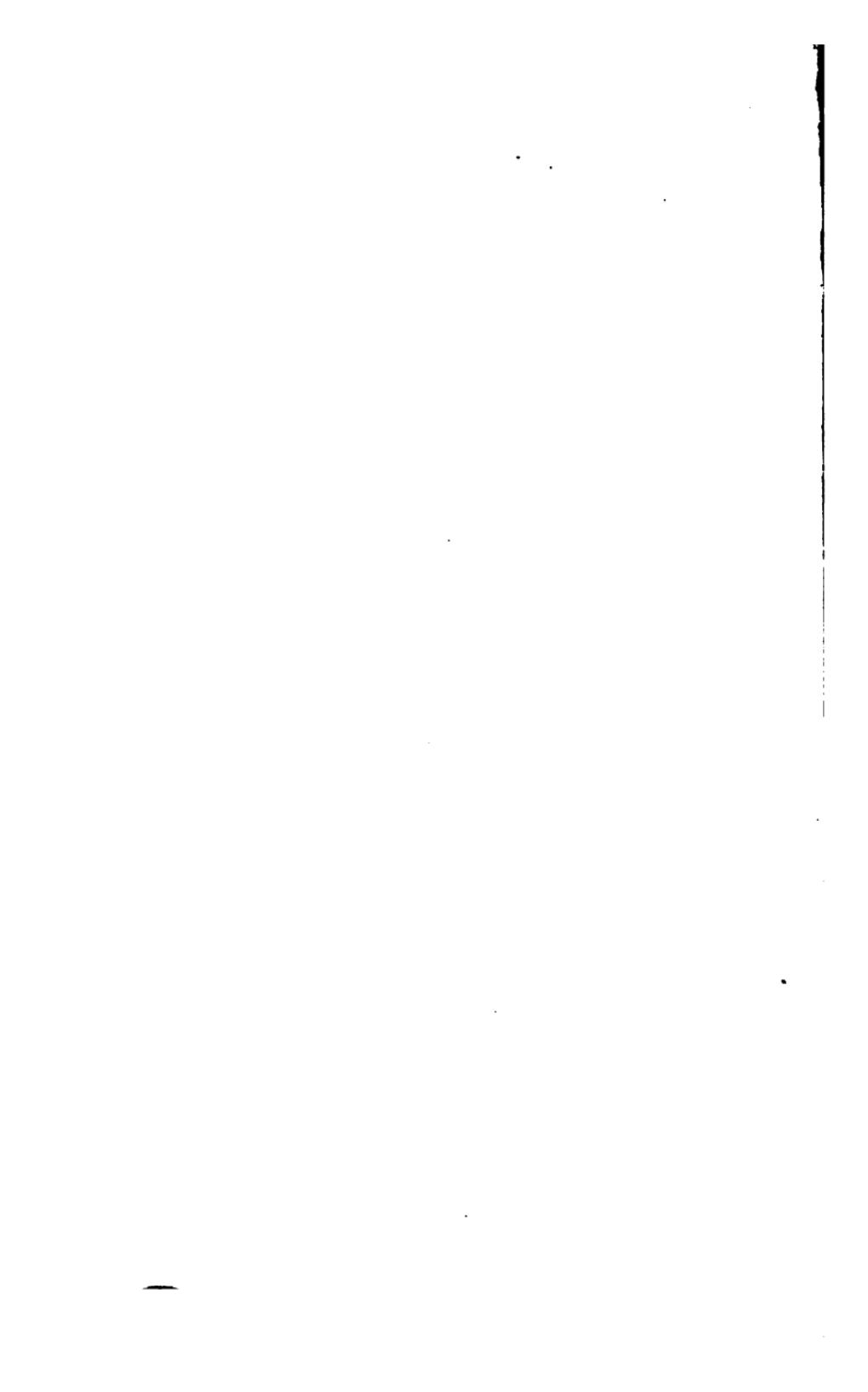




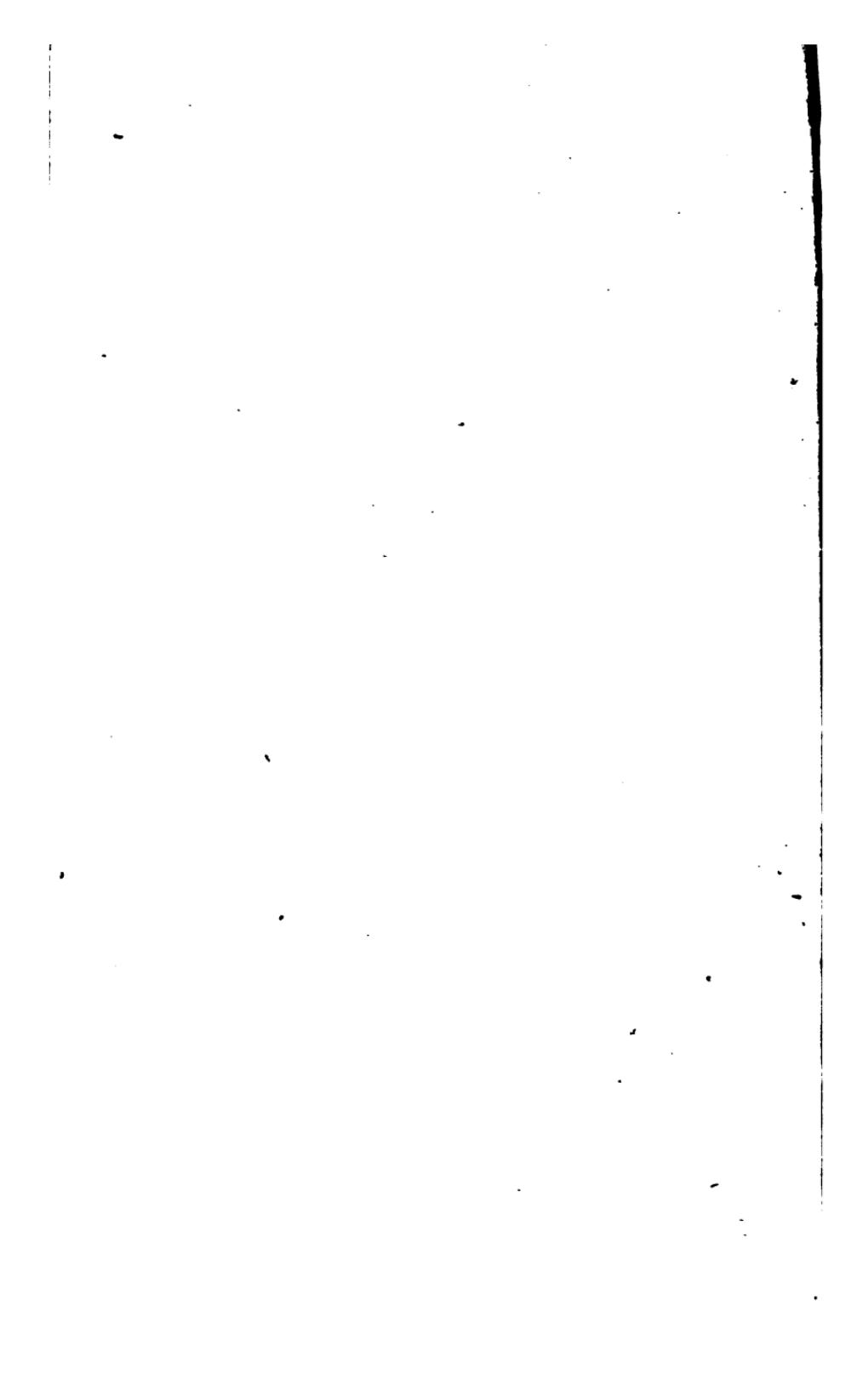
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THE MONARCHY  
OF  
THE MIDDLE CLASSES.

FRANCE,  
SOCIAL, LITERARY, POLITICAL,  
SECOND SERIES.

BY HENRY LYTTON BULWER, Esq. M.P.

Nature and truth are the same every where, and reason shows them every where alike. But the accidents and other causes, which give rise and growth to opinions both in speculation and practice, are of infinite variety.

*Bolingbroke on the true Use of Retirement and Study.*

Reverere conditores Deos, numina Deorum. Reverere gloriam veterem, et hanc ipsam senectum que in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra est. Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus facti, sit fabulis quoque, nihil ex cuiusquam dignitate, nihil ex libertate, nihil etiam ex jactatione decerpseris.

*Plinius Maximo Suo S.*

IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOLUME  
LITERARY

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THESE two volumes were, for the most part, written and in the hands of the publisher some months since; and it was only the desire to be perfectly accurate in certain details, to ascertain which a visit to Paris was necessary, that delayed their appearance. These form the necessary continuation to the two volumes published a year ago and called, "France Literary, Social and Political." The new title now added is given in consequence of the author having considered its former omission an error—which it was more essential to rectify in that part of the work which related to recent institutions, than it could have been in the preceding part which rather treated of the effects of national character and former history.

The objection of proceeding speedily through the Press, after the unavoidable delay that has been alluded to, has occasioned some few typographical errors which the reader is requested to have the kindness to excuse. Some slight alterations, since certain passages were printed, have taken place. The suppression of 'the Tribune,' is one of these.

N.B.—A translation of all French words or sentences not translated in foot notes, is to be found at the end of the volume that contains them.

CHARLES  
CLIBURN  
WILLIAMS

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## DEDICATION

TO

J. E. HOVENDEN, Esq.

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To whom can a writer more properly address his thoughts upon another country, than to one with whose name he has long since been familiar in studying the institutions of his own? I dedicate then these volumes to you, my dear Sir, and allow me to add, that I do so with every sentiment of private friendship, that can add to public esteem.

Any author who now takes up his pen, does so at an eventful moment. There is a season when every seed we scatter upon the breeze, however carelessly, will produce and bear; the soil is quick with an invisible being; thus, an interest may possibly attach to these pages, even though so hastily composed.

That interest, however, will be owing as  
VOL. I. B

much to the situation of our own country, as to the situation of the country which I more especially undertake to describe.

Let me then, before proceeding to France, carry your attention, and that of any who now honour me by casting their eyes upon this page, to England !

By many, the spirit of change which now ruffles the public mind, is accounted as one of those chance winds, of which no man knoweth whence they come or whither they go—sudden and accidental in their visitation, and as suddenly and accidentally passing away. Is this so ?

The links which bound our people to an old aristocracy have long been dropping off one by one from the ancient chain, in which, at the revolution of 1688, society was still bound. Already on the demise of Anne, the commercial fortunes which then began to spring up from that spirit of commerce, to which the spirit of chivalry under the prudent Elizabeth had turned, counterbalanced the power of the great provincial gentry—the main support of those, who in this country, have more exclusively been called the nobility of the land.

The protracted contest for the crown, in which the House of Hanover was ultimately

successful, but in which the great bulk of the old families inclined for the House of Stuart, carried on with that civil genius for which we are remarkable, in a series of election contests, accounted for, if it did not justify the corruptions of Sir Robert Walpole, and ruined the great majority of the patriarchal possessors of the soil. A new race of persons with names unknown, got possession of those chesnut-avenued seats, which for centuries preceding had belonged to one line of masters. It was then that the peasant and the small proprietor felt a shock in feelings they had long been accustomed to cherish. They met the new squire in the parish church, but they passed fondly by the tombs of his predecessors. The very associations which had hitherto made them respect the possessor of 'The Place,' now rose up against its purchaser. He was disliked as the new man, more than he was respected as the rich one. First, wealth lost its prestige because it was unaccompanied by birth, and then birth lost its prestige because it was unaccompanied by wealth.

In this manner, that habit of unthinking respect for superior rank, which had almost seemed an instinct, was effaced by degrees, now here, now there. At the same time too, the increasing

business and luxuries of a capital, and the increasing facilities for visiting it, drew a large class of persons yearly to the metropolis, as a matter of course, who formerly only sought it on some extraordinary occasion of business, curiosity, or adventure. This habit, did not—perhaps could not—exist long without a London existence rising more and more into importance, as compared with a rural one ; until at last, a large portion of the great nobility and wealthy squirearchy began to look upon their provincial neighbours, less as useful friends and adherents to be cultivated in the country, than as vulgar alliances and acquaintances to be avoided in town. Hence that silly principle of exclusion, which ending in the overthrow of its inventors, has made a condemned and excluded body of that aristocracy, who entrenched amidst their solitary boroughs and venal corporations, thought they might despise and defy the nation, without which they contrived to rule. Monstrous delusion !

When we altered the form of our constitution in 1832, what made that alteration so enormous, was—that the nobility which governed, had no hold on power, save by that form. They had been acquiring a strength where the people were not, and they had been losing their in-

fluence where the people were. They had been extending their authority over the small and decayed villages in Schedules A and B ; but from the great towns in their neighbourhood, their domination had been gradually passing away.

And now, while the country was thus slowly and almost invisibly changing its ideas, it was also changing its habits and pursuits.

Not many years ago, two thirds of the population in England were an agricultural population, depending mainly on the large possessors of the soil : at the time I write, upwards of two thirds of the population are a manufacturing population, deriving their support, rather from the lower and the middle, than from the upper classes of society. In the meantime great cities, which may be called empires, have been rising into existence ; and during these events, knowledge has been rapidly and widely diffusing itself ; and with knowledge, that desire for action and that passion for power, which are its necessary concomitants.

It is impossible for these causes to exist without their effects. It is impossible for the whole frame of society to have been shifting from under our feet without a great shock taking place in our institutions.

The first sign of this—was in the Reform Bill which would have been carried earlier, but for the French revolution of 1789, and which was doubtless hastened by the French revolution of 1830.\*

The second sign of this—has been in the Corporation Bill.

In 1832 we gave the people the power to make laws ; in 1835 the people have carried a law which will create popular manners.†

These two measures passed—who can doubt as to which way is flowing the tide of future events ?

Nor have we here been following a course at variance with the nations around us during the period to which I have referred, or in discord-

\* One of many proofs, that the destinies of two countries so nearly allied by nature, cannot be wholly separate from each other.

† If the Lords had altered the qualification of the town council, and succeeded in appointing the town clerk for life, they would have done something, but they would have done much less than they imagined. They would have confined corporate power in certain hands; but they would have left the origin of that power in the community. It would still have been not to those above, but to those below them, that the ambitious among the town's people would have had to look for power ; and this would have done what I have said the law as it stands must more effectually do, viz : create popular manners.

ance with that longer portion of human action, which is what we call the history of the world. From the laying of the first stone of the pyramids of Egypt, to the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, the great masses of mankind have been gradually advancing in condition : and the sacred law which we obey, preached with a divine prescience nearly two thousand years ago, only proclaimed an equality, which passing through two systems—that of chivalry and the church — and aided by a series of almost miraculous discoveries—has been daily advancing from that hour to this.

I look upon it as certain then, that in this country, we shall also see a monarchy of the middle classes, at no distant date ;—whether we approach it gradually, slowly, safely, as I believe we shall ; or whether we are hurried to it on the blast of some political tempest, which we cannot now foresee, but which the air—charged with electricity—is at any moment liable to produce.

It cannot, therefore, be without interest to observe — that the same year which has advanced us by a new step, and a gigantic step towards such a monarchy ;— has shown it, shaking and trembling to its foundations in the country of which I am writing.

Thus our attention is naturally awakened to France ; and we anxiously enquire whether the dangers that menace her, are such as we shall have in our turn to experience. Let us then see whether that nation, which possesses more popular ideas, and in some respects, more popular institutions than ours, does not also still possess some trappings of a galling and tinselled tyranny, such as we never saw. In its manners are the traces of former servitude yet visible ? Over its laws do those manners yet exercise some influence ? In its progress do we remark those abrupt stoppages and rapid movements which shew that it has pursued—not the safe, and even course ?

On the other hand ;—is it not true, that the improvements we are looking forward to, will come as the necessary result of others that have preceded them ?

Is it not true that the equality we anticipate will have been preceded by a freedom we have long enjoyed ; and that the democracy attaining power will have been educated by an aristocracy that has long possessed it ?

Is it not true, that a government of the middle classes in this country would be the government—not of a few of those classes admitted with fear and caution into the gestion of pub-

lic affairs—but of the great bulk of the people long accustomed to the management of their local concerns?

Is it not true that a government of the middle classes in England would be a government well suited to the serious and commercial character of the English, as a government of the middle classes in France is hostile to the vain and military character of the French?

Neither would such a government be productive, in both countries, of all the same results. I have to notice a licentious literature, an irreligious people, a philosophy imbrued with that spirit of association natural to the state of things amidst which it appears, but covered, at the same time, with the taudry tatters of a depraved licentiousness, the baleful heritage of times gone by. Nobody will believe—whatever mischief might arise therefrom—that the advancing influence of the middling and lower orders of society with us would be accompanied by such consequences. The evils to dread would indeed be of a directly contrary description;—an over fanatic zeal in religion, an extravagant severity of manners, and a temporary absence of those charms of literature and society, which add to the happiness, and ought not to corrupt the manners, of mankind.

To prepare the change that is inevitable, to infuse into the democracy that is advancing to power, what was great and graceful in the best days of the aristocracy that has long possessed it;—to ingraft on the manly and solid character of the English people, the lofty daring and the cultivated intelligence which in times not remote from these were remarkable in the English nobility;—to join to the popular virtues of economy and industry, the no less necessary qualities (in those who are to guide an empire) of justice, honour, and courage;—to moderate the popular zeal in politics and religion, by a learned toleration for the feelings and opinions of all opponents;—such, it appears to me, should be the desire of a writer who hopes, my dear Sir, for your friendship, and aspires above the mere party aims and politics of the hour.

Some, I know, imagine that every period of civilization is to have the same results. They quarrel with the times gone by, on account of the class which ruled then, as others quarrel with the present, because the power from that class is passing—has in fact passed away. This, I feel sure, is not the judgment of your liberal and enlightened mind. To an independent and respectable nobility, we owe much.

It has enriched our merchants and our tradesmen with the spirit and intelligence of a senate; and preserved the morality of our gentry from the enervating corruptions of a court.

Let us not disdain, then, but embody, our past history in our future progress! This is the way that a great people march on easily and naturally in the road to greatness.

Of old, the seer who sought in vain one of those mysterious luminaries he was accustomed to admire—said, “the star is not lost to mankind; but, attracted to some mightier orb, enriches with the effulgence that I miss—the splendours of a more glorious world:—” and so, on this pigmy earth—the institutions of one generation, when they apparently disappear, do but pass on to the next; and the great system of society is perpetually brightened by the systems it perpetually absorbs.

It is, my dear Sir, with a sincere friendship, that I subscribe myself,

Yours most faithfully,

HENRY LYTTON BULWER,

8, James Street, Buckingham Palace,  
October 1835.

## P R E F A C E.

---

A salutation to all of you, friends and enemies, whom I have had as judges, and before whose tribunal I am once more to appear! Thanks to you who have seen any merit, more thanks to you who have seen any utility in the pages I have, with a deep humility, previously offered to the public. You will agree with me, I have little doubt, as to the imperfect manner in which my task has been fulfilled. You will agree with me also, I venture to trust, in acknowledging there was some difficulty attending its fulfilment.

To paint a country which, visiting every year, every person imagines that he knows—yet which, for the very reason perhaps that it is at their door, few persons have attentively examined—to be met first by the idea that you can say nothing new; and then by the prejudice against all you do say which is not old—to enter last into competition with deservedly distinguished writers, who have wielded the weapons of controversy with a grace and a tact which betray—what their judgment might have concealed—the sex they belonged to;\* this was no easy labour to have accomplished with or-

\* See Lady Morgan's France, and Miss Berry's State of Society in France and England.

dinary success ; and most grateful am I for that which has been accorded me. There is something indeed in the nature of a work like the present, which furnishes in itself an excuse for its imperfections. On the one hand, the author is called upon to devote much industry and time to the collection of his materials; and this gives his efforts the effect of preparation and research. On the other hand, he is called upon to throw those materials into form with as much rapidity as possible, and this tarnishes his labours with the defects of negligence and haste. Oh ! reader, who is to be !—did you chance to hear that not long since, a small island suddenly appeared on the coast of Sicily ; instantly we planted our flag there, so thank God ! it is ours. But it as suddenly disappeared—yes ; it is ours—but under the ocean ; the sounding sea rolls over it again ; and if we had delayed a moment, it would never have been added to our empire, no, never. Such, in some sort, is the shifting scene of life and politics before us, the condition and the fortune of states and of men. We must plant our standard quickly—at the moment—on that fleeting shore ;—a minute, and it will be covered by the ever mounting sea, which has already risen over 5000 years.

## LIGHT LITERATURE.

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### CHAPTER I.

Early species of popular composition—Origin of novels—Chivalric Italian—Heroic Milesian—Later schools—Le Sage—Rousseau—Walter Scott—Anomalous school displayed in melo-drama—General considerations.

IN some degree I regret that my volumes open with the subject I am now commencing.—But this work must be considered as the continuation of one published a year ago; and which, concluding with history and the drama, left me about to enter on the lighter productions of French literature.

Still, such productions are not altogether unworthy of consideration: they have generally been thought to pourtray, more faithfully than any other, the manners of their time; and although this is not universally correct, it is

sufficiently so to engage and deserve our attention.

The earliest species of popular composition was, as we know, heroic poetry ; for the art of transcription being rare, and that of reading very confined, to render any composition popular, it was necessary that, grateful to the ear, it should be easily remembered and repeated ; nor was there any method of diffusing it but itinerant recitation.

As great towns arose and spread themselves, however, the poet naturally suited himself to larger audiences, and his muse adopting the drama, attained most that we at present know of theatrical art.

But civilization does not arrive so far as this point without the existence of a large class who, wealthy, indolent, and refined, require some unfatiguing, intellectual amusement, which, if the stage supplied in any way to those resident in cities, it left it still wanting to all who found themselves in the solitude of a country life.

That such a want should first display itself in the east, seems, from the habits of the people, natural ; and we may therefore easily fall into the common belief that it was through the

colony of Miletus that prose novels or romances first reached Italy and Greece.

As might have been expected, they treated chiefly of licentious love, and of the martial heroism of the middle ages. This species of composition (whether such alteration were Gothic or Arabian in its origin, or merely the natural birth of the existing state of mankind) received a new colouring; and in tales of chivalry and enterprise the spirit of the day was at once represented and excited.

The wanderings of Palmerin and Amadis, however, did not extend to the voluptuous Italy, where the Decameron, similar in its kind to other Italian productions that had preceded it, resembled in some sort the ancient Milesian stories.

The pastoral romance was a reaction from the chivalric and heroic, at the head of which Madame Scuderi may be placed—a kind of prolix medley of the two—owing its success in France partly to real personages being concealed under a fictitious genii, partly to the character of the French nobility themselves, who, until their independence was destroyed in the court of Louis XIV, had a warlike and enterprizing frame of mind which the adventures of Polyan-

dre or the 'Great Cyrus' might very well interest and please.

But the two species of modern novels\* most in vogue, until another of late years appeared, were those descriptive of living manners—at the head of which Le Sage, transporting comedy from the stage to the boudoir, took his place; and those more analytically descriptive of sentiment, of which we must again accord a foreigner, writing in French, J. J. Rousseau, to be the chief. The one was still a comedian while a novelist; the other always a moralist.

Le Sage wrote for Paris and the audience he had been accustomed to at his theatre: he painted the life of an adventurer to a large city, where every one was struggling to make his fortune—not quite a honest man, yet not a rogue—with few scruples that could prevent his getting on in life: with no crimes that could justly condemn him to the gallies.

\* What I say of light literature is almost entirely confined to novels, as the most popular branch of it. The only poets out of the drama of any note, are Beranger and Lamartine, and these are already so well known, and have been so often criticized, that it would hardly be worth while to interrupt the course of these observations by repeating what has frequently been better said of their style and merits.

What he describes is the level of life in large communities such as he resided in: there is no heroic passion,—no enthusiasm of any kind in his story—for the bye-ways of ambition are not romantic. Still the tale of Gil-Blas had great success, for it described, not merely what was passing round the author, but what was passing round most men pursuing the hackneyed existence of what in their separate countries was called—the world.

As Le Sage was essentially the man of the city, Rousseau was as essentially the man of solitude. All that he knew of mankind was what he knew of Rousseau. The only mode he had of describing human nature, was that of describing the workings of his own breast;—he was the creature of sentiment and emotion—so was his book. Indeed, it is easier at a first glance to see why Rousseau should have written the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, than it is at a first glance to see, why the *Héloïse*, appearing amidst the worldly, the polished, the voluptuous, and selfish society of Louis XV, should have had such success. But there are in most men two natures—that nature which they acquire in action and from custom, which makes them do to-day as they did yesterday, and as they see others doing, without

reflection or passion, but from habitual impulse—and that other nature—which we only find when we seek for it, but which is in the depths of all our souls ; which we find alone, and when we are called upon to think ; a nature of higher and nobler energies, such as from the very elevation at which it aims, can rarely be carried into action save by men of great powers. I speak of that source of sublimity within us from which all religions flow ; of that source of superiority and strength which we discover in sickness, in suffering, and oftentimes in great perils ; raising us above what we have been accustomed to consider ourselves ; coming not from stoicism, not from superstition—but simply from solitude and self-commune ;—for it was said wisely and profoundly by the philosopher, “*Enter yourselves—there you will find the Gods !*”

Rousseau and Byron, both different in action from what they were in thought, yet living much in solitude, addressed our more lonely and thinking side of the heart : they spoke to man at the time when he momentarily withdraws himself from the world, not at the time when he is mechanically moving in the world ; and this is why they produced a deeper impression upon the mind of their age, and

a less impression upon its manners, than others of their cotemporaries.

Thus Le Sage and Rousseau might have lived and written together, as they wrote and lived at different periods; and been popular, not only at the same time, but with the same people.

The two principal styles of modern fiction then, being as I have said, those of Le Sage and Rousseau, the one addressed to the musings of mankind, the other depicting their manners; —a third, some few years back introduced itself—of which we possess ‘the great master,’ and which supplied a want of the epoch, and more particularly of England, then beginning to be very generally felt.

With the difference of popular institutions, there was, as in that branch of my subject I remarked, sure to be felt a great increase of popular interest for historical productions. The great historical masters of ancient times were remarkable for their style, their thoughts, and their descriptions; the chronicles of the middle ages were mostly dry narrations of facts; and the history that combined them, until the 18th century, was mere compilation. The school of which Voltaire and Hume were the chiefs, addressing itself to men of letters, and writing

with partial views, consisted rather in disquisitions upon preceding times, than in descriptions of them. Gibbon is our only great historian who wrote upon the ancient model ; but his subject, except in a few particular points, was not one of general interest, and produced only amongst scholars the sensation, which if it had been a history of England, it would have produced upon English society at large.

The modern French historians, adopting a new and more animated and picturesque way of treating their subject, supplied to their own country, in a great measure, the want that had been felt ; and their works, re-published in small numbers, became the most widely circulated of their time. But in England, our more recent histories, possessing great merit in solidity and research, were still more unattractive to the general reader than those that had preceded them.

A desire was felt, which no one satisfied, till Sir Walter Scott, succeeding the Misses Porter, who had already feebly attempted the same line of romance, carried his genius into a school, fore-destined to be popular—becoming what he will remain—the Shakspeare of his time—the great popular historian of England. His success was too extraordinary not to lead

to imitations ; he has been accordingly imitated in Germany, in Italy, and also in France by men of very considerable ability.

The three most remarkable French romances are :—*Cinq Mars*, by M. de Vigny ; the *Chronicle of Charles IX*, by M. Mérimée ; and *Notre Dame*, by M. Victor Hugo.

Of these three I should give the first place to the *Chronicle of Charles IX*, though the least known in this country, and not perhaps the most popular in France. The merits of M. Mérimée are precision and force. There is nothing unnecessarily lengthened in his fiction ; the ‘ Chronicle’ is but one volume, through which you are breathlessly hurried by a series of dramatic effects. He pourtrays truly also, no small quality as an historical novelist in the time of which he writes. The passion, the levity, the superstition, the gallantry, the debauch and blood-thirsty cruelty of that epoch, memorable by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, are worked up together in his tale, energetically, vividly, but naturally, and without any overstrained reach after colours or force.\*

\* The fault of the author’s story is, indeed, its subject : faithful to *the period of which he writes* he violates—how could it be otherwise—in speaking of those gay and lust-

Monsieur de Vigny more chaste, cold, and sentimental, has not in his romance, the quickness and the vigour of M. Mérimée, but his characters are of a higher order, and more minutely delineated.

The high spirit and weak character of Louis XV—his eye brightening in the battle and wandering in the council—the stern and ruthless composure of his minister—(the dark side of his nature perhaps rather overcharged)—the chivalry, the sentiment, the daring, and “all-for-love” of the young Cinq Mars—whose pale countenance, melancholy and absent when not lit up by enterprize, and large black eyes and long brown hair follow you from his first appearance at his paternal chateau, until his last upon the scaffold—the light and varying shade of love, ambition and coquetry which flit across the character of the young Duchess of Mantua—(to obtain whose hand is young d'Effiat's (Cinq Mars) sole object of action)—a princess who had loved in solitude, and is afterwards exposed to the flatteries and fascinations of a court—all these various subjects for the artful scenes over which Italy cast the shadow of her mysterious mask?—the propriety of *that period for which he is writing*. He paints, however, rather the warmth of passion than the subtleties of depravity; and, exciting the imagination, does not deprave the heart.

tist are drawn, not perhaps with a powerful, but with a fine and delicate hand ; and this romance upon the whole succeeded as the most popular imitation of an inimitable novelist.

To those who wish to see the ancient capital with its innumerable steeples and stately spires, with “its guardian giantess and her tiara of towers,” with its miraculous hotel that could lodge twenty-two princes of the quality of the Dauphin—with its gibbets and its pillories which flourished and abounded in the place of that “one miserable guillotine,” which now occupies a dishonoured corner of the Grève—and to those who wish to see this dark creation peopled with a motley crowd of Bohemians, students, knights, priests and executioners—the romance of ‘*Notre Dame*’ may be taken up with safety and laid down with satisfaction.

In spite, however, of the vigorous and peculiar style, the vivid colouring and dramatic effect of different parts of this remarkable production, its chance of being more than a popular tale of the day is destroyed by its evident struggle after an unnatural originality, and by all the faults and absurdities of M. Hugo’s late dramatic compositions.

The lover, whose devoted passion should

charm and touch you, appears under the monstrous shape of one of those hideous excrescences that decorate a gothic church—while the graceful and delicate heroine, when delivered up to her executioner, trembles in his hand—not like an aspen or a rose leaf—but, strange to say—like a galvanized frog !

These romances, however, of the historical school were works of power, and would have had more followers and more success, but for the circumstance I have mentioned; viz: the popular style of history of itself; for where history is written on the principle of being amusing, historical romance supplies a vacuum which is not likely to be long in vogue.

Of the school of Rousseau, Madame de Staël and M. de Châteaubriand are the only popular followers; though Madame de Thérèse in “*Jerome*” and “*l’Indienne*,” has produced two eloquent and touching stories, which deserve to be noticed, were it only for the elegant correctness of their style, their frequent profundity of thought and their absence from all offensive affectation. M. de St. Beuve is also well calculated to have succeeded in the metaphysical novel, had he not, in a composition of which I shall presently give a specimen, sullied the wings of his genius by the dirty and

licentious details through which he has directed his course.

In the school of manners, Paul de Kock stands unrivalled—his subjects are low—his language unclassical, and without eloquence—but the persons he describes are true portraits—and the passions he gives them, go through their natural workings. He is by Le Sage what the low farce writer is by the comedian. The characters you are shewn are those you would meet with in the omnibus; but they are living portraits, and types of their class. Nor is there any French writer of fiction now living, so likely to have a place with posterity, as one whom many of his tinselled and affected contemporaries pretend to despise.

I now approach a school—if school it can be called—which belongs to none of the orders I have just described. It does not refer to history—it does not describe manners, nor unfold the natural mystery of the human mind. The objects of its idolatry, insomuch fulfills the Jewish commandment, that they are neither taken from things in the earth, nor from things in the heavens above the earth, nor from things in the waters under the earth. They are creatures which we never saw by day, nor ever imagined by night, except under the influence

of some unhappy nightmare, more incoherent and extravagant than usual.

All keeping of character, all conduct of plot, all decency of manners, any thing which the novelist of later times has studied to observe, the novelist of this extravagant sect studies to violate.

To write a calm criticism on such literature would be an impertinence. I have therefore endeavoured, by adopting, not a new—but a generally fortunate device—to display with the levity they merit, those absurdities and indecorums which have acquired a certain reputation ; and I must beg my reader—who will see by notes annexed, that I have taken almost verbatim from novels much in vogue, the language and situations I make use of—to attribute to me nothing in the following pages, save the desire to cover such want of nature, taste and decency, with all the censure and ridicule it deserves.

## Dramatis Personæ.\*

LEONE LIONI, ( <i>a swindler</i> )	CAPTAIN BRULART, ( <i>pirate and nobleman.</i> )
GALERIAN, ( <i>a moralist.</i> )	AMAURY.
PRINCESS CLAUDIA.	LIBERTY.
GOVERNESS OF PRINCESS	YOUNG MAN WITH SKIN.
CLAUDIA.	CATHEDRAL OF AUGSBURG
BARNAVE.	CHURCH OF NOTRE-DAME.
DAUGHTERS OF SEJAN.	SATAN.

*Devils, Secretaries of Embassy, etc.*

\* All these are characters taken from the romances of the day most in vogue, wearing their own dress and using, as will be seen from notes, almost exactly their own language.

Scene a confused medley of Swiss cottages, and houses of ill-fame—Of Pirate vessels, and cachemered boudoirs—Of sepulchres and banqueting rooms—In the background Venice surrounded by rocks; and the Morgue enshrined in bowers of roses.

*Enter Leone Lioni—Lioni is dressed in a long robe of pale green silk, embroidered with large arabesques of gold and silver.† Enter opposite a Galerian in chains.*

*Galerian (with arms folded and a meditative air,)—Who, Sir, are you ?*

*Lioni.—I Sir !—I am a man endowed with*

*† See description, in “ Leone Lioni.” Un homme vêtu d'une longue robe de soie vert pâle, brodée de argues arabesques d'or et d'argent.*

extraordinary faculties\*—I have all talents and all seductions: if I am present at a concert, I sing and play better than any of the musicians. If I deign to pass an evening in a small and quiet circle, I enrich by the most beautiful drawings the ladies' albums.

I sketch in an instant portraits the most graceful, and caricatures the most caustic. I improvise too and declaim in all languages. I know every dance in Europe, and dance them all with an enchanting perfection. I have seen every thing, judged every thing, understood every thing; in short (*stroking his chin*) I have read in the universe as if it were my pocket-book.

\* Il est certain que Leoni est un homme doué de facultés extraordinaires. Vous savez qu'il a tous les talents, toutes les séductions. S'il assistait à un concert, après s'être fait un peu prier, il chantait ou jouait de tous les instruments avec une supériorité marquée sur les musiciens. S'il consentait à passer une soirée d'intimité, il faisait des dessins charmants sur les albums des femmes. Il crayonnait en un instant des portraits pleins de grâce ou des caricatures pleines de nerf; il improvisait ou déclamait dans toutes les langues; il savait toutes les danses de caractère de l'Europe; et il les dansait toutes avec une grâce enchanteresse; il avait tout vu, tout retenu, tout jugé, tout compris; il savait tout; il lisait dans l'univers comme dans un livre de poche.

*Galerian.*—Ah ! I see from the description, you are the keeper of a hell in St. James's Street.\* I am a philosopher and a moralist.† No man who has not nearly escaped hanging can be one. Oh ! (*with an enraptured air*) the delights of virtue ! The pure, the incomparable happiness of that beatified state of the soul which plunged in an earthly elysium. . . . (*Here the Galerian speaking and walking rapidly across the stage, and evidently forgetting himself, uses Lioni's pale green silk robe as a pocket handkerchief.*)

*Lioni.*—Oh ! Juliette ! Oh ! my robe !

*Galerian (melancholy and as if suddenly awakened from an agreeable delirium.)*—Pardon, Sir, alas ! talking of virtue made me think I was again in the galleys.‡

*Enter Governess leading in a beautiful young Princess.*

*To the Galerian.*—Sir, you seem an honourable man, do us a service !

\* Lioni is a cheat and swindler.

† See Lelia—the character of Trenmor, the Galerian.

‡ Lelia. “ Vous ramez trop vite, Sténio, vous m’arrachez une bien chère illusion. Ce brouillard me trompait ; ce froid du soir, et surtout ce calme religieux qui était en moi, me faisaient croire que j’étais au bagne.”

*Princess Claudia (with enthusiasm.)*—Yes, Sir do *me* a service !

*Galerian*.—Madam, is what you ask strictly accordant with virtue ?

*Governess*.—Strictly Sir. } together.

*Princess Claudia*.—Strictly Sir. }

*Galerian (with one hand to his brow, the other gathering up his chains)*—Say on, madam.

*Governess, (with proper dignity)*—Sir, my duty to this young lady's parents, my duty to her, but more than all, my duty to myself brings me here to tell you that my pupil desires—to be seduced.\*

*Galerian shakes his head*.—Pity me, ladies ! I am a St. Simonian, and I swore to 'the father' yesterday—abstinence for a month.

*Princess Claudia*.—Perhaps, Sir, (pointing to *Lioni*) that other gentleman—

*Lioni, (holding out a hand covered with jewels)* One hundred and fifty thousand francs, if you please ! That's what my beloved Juliette paid me, I assure you, not a farthing less.†

[*While the Governess and the young Princess are consulting together, there appears a good*

\* Lelia, scene between Stenio, Governess and Princess Claudia.

† See Leoni.

*looking young man, with a Brutus wig and top boots, leading by the hand a couple of young ladies, in a deshabille of the Roman empire in the time of Tiberius.]*

*Governess starts.*—Oh! Monsieur Barnave, can that be you?

*Barnave.*—You have said it, madam.

*Galerian.*—And those young ladies? (*aside*) opera dancers I should say—ah! then they must be virtuous.

*Barnave.*—These young ladies are the daughters of Sejan.\*

*Governess.*—Good God, M. Barnave, how came you by the daughters of Sejan?

*Barnave.*—Ah! madam, I see you do not know my *forte*. Such things are always happening to me. I was walking in the Tuilleries, composing for the national assembly, somebody touched my arm, another would have thought it was his mistress—but no; the truth struck me at once; “here,” said I, “are the daughters of Sejan!”

*Princess Claudia to Governess, and examining the daughters of Sejan with attention.)*—Are those the daughters that were—

*Barnave (overhearing.)*—Precisely, Mademoiselle. Read the last edition of my *Memoirs*, page 273.

\* See Barnave, by M. Janin.

*[At this moment the whole stage is thrown into consternation by the apparition of a tall, terrible looking man, with a pale face, and a long thin nose, and dark thick eyebrows, and hollow cheeks, and a large square chin covered with a beard about an inch long, and thin pale lips and a clear blue eye, of an insupportable fixity. His common blue shirt fastened round his waist by a cord, is full of holes, his naked legs are brown and hairy, his hands too are covered with filth, but you see at once by their being long and thin, that his ancestors fought with great glory against Charles Fifth.\*]*

\* Figurez-vous un homme d'une taille atlétique, avec un visage pâle et plombé, un front plissé, un nez long et mince, d'épais sourcils d'un noir de jais, et des yeux d'un bleu clair et revêtu d'une fixité insupportable, un menton large et carré, des joues creuses, recouvertes d'une barbe épaisse à moitié longue, et puis enfin une bouche bordée de lèvres, minces et blasfèmantes, agitées par un tremblement convulsif presque continual qui, par exemple, laissaient voir pourquoi ne l'avouerait-on pas, de fort belles dents parfaitement rangées.

Ses mains, toutes malpropres, toutes noires qu'elles étaient, témoignaient par leur forme longue et effilée, par la délicatesse de leurs contours, témoignaient, dis-je, une certaine distinction de race....

Le commandant Brulart (car il avait un nom et s'appelait Brulart) même aucun disent un nom ancien,

*Leoni (recognizing an acquaintance.)*—What you, my dear friend ! Allow me, gentlemen and ladies, to introduce my particular friend, the Comte de \* \* \* alias Captain Brulart.

*Captain Brulart with an homeric, or mephistophelic, or rather hyenic laugh.*—Ha ! ha ! ha !\*

*Princess Claudia.*—What very white teeth that tall dirty gentleman has got !

*Captain Brulart raises his head.*—By all the skulls that I have cracked, (*he advances*) by all the throats that I have cut, (*he faces the Princess*) by all the young ladies that—† [*Here the Princess who already beginning to blush, had cast down her eyes, was thrown*

un nom historique, qui, dit-on illustré sous François I. fit pâlir plus d'une fois les généraux de Charles Quint.

\* A peine Brulart avait-il terminé ces mots, qui furent accentués lentement, qu'un rire tout homérique ou plutôt tout mephistophéletique, ou mieux encore un vrai rire de hyène, souleva sa large poitrine.

*Atar-Gull, page, 182.*

† Je te jure par tous les reins que j'ai brisés.

Par tous les cranes que j'ai fendus.

—(Et il se dressa debout.)

Par tous les gosiers que j'ai échancrés.

—(Et il marcha vers Benoit )

Par tous les navires que j'ai pillés.

*Atar-Gull, page, 181.*

*with violence into the modest arms of the Galerian, by a pale interesting sentimental-looking little gentleman, with green spectacles, who panting, puffing, running, rushed on to the theatre.]*

*Galerian.—It is Amaury!*

*Amaury.—L'ombre est épaisse, la foule est inconnue : les lumières trompeuses du soir éblouissent sans éclairer, nul œil redouté ne me voit. Je me perds, je me retrouve toujours. Les plus étroites defilés, les plus populant carrefours, et les plus jonchés de pièges m'appellent de préférence : je les découvre avec certitude ; un instinct funeste m'y dirige. Ce sont des circuits étranges, inexplicables, un labyrinthe tournoyant comme celui des damnés luxurieux. Je repasse plusieurs fois aux mêmes angles. Il semble qui je reconnaiss d'avance les fosses les plus profondes de peur de n'y pas tomber : ou encore, je reviens effleurer le péril de l'air effaré dont on le fuit. Mille propos de miel ou de boue m'accueillent au passage, mille mortelles images m'atteignent ; je les emporte dans ma chair palpitante, courant, rebroussant comme un cerf aux abois, le front en eau, les pieds brisés, les lèvres arides ——————.\**

\* The shadows are thick, the crowd is unknown : the deceitful lamps of evening dazzle without lighting, no

*Governess*—Poor young man ! What is he in such a fuss about ?

*Amaury*—Madam, I am devoted to voluptuousness ; I run after it, I have been running after it just now, through all the dirty lanes and in all the dirty corners of Paris. I gaze on those dirty lanes, I gaze on the dirty ladies who inhabit them—God forbid I should do more than gaze—no ; Madam, I have not lost my virtue.

*Galerian*—Oh ! Amaury is virtuous !

*Young Princess (simpering)*—And have you never been in love, Sir ?

*Amaury*—Love, Mademoiselle ! (with one

dreaded eye sees me. I lose myself, I find myself again. The narrowest lanes, the cross-ways most populous and covered with snares, are to me the most inviting. I discover them with certitude—a fatal instinct directs me.

These are passages circuitous, strange, inexplicable, a labyrinth tortuous and luxurious like that of the damned. I pass and re-pass the same angles. It seems as if I knew before hand the deepest ditches, from the fear of falling therein. Or, again I return and glance by the peril, with the air of one who flies it. A thousand expressions of mud or of honey welcome my passage—a thousand deadly images reach me ; I carry them away in my palpitating flesh, running on, and running back, like a stag tired down—the forehead covered with perspiration, the feet bruised, the lips dry..... *Volupté*.

*hand in his breeches pocket and the other on his heart),* love! who, of you all—human lovers!—who of you all amongst those most happy, have not felt even in your most delicious hours wearisome and disgusted? Who, of you all, even in the most voluptuous moment of mortal pleasures have not desired something above or below what you experienced—have not imagined some capricious and inconstant diversion—have not wished—ay, at the very feet of your idol—sighing forth your passion on a perfumed terrace—have not wished, I say, for some coarse exchange—some vulgar creature passing by?"\* But, what do I see? (*he gazes with eager admiration, as there enters a slapping and somewhat slovenly wench, crowned with laurel and holding a bottle in her hand of that democratic liquid called 'vin bleu.'*)†

\* Qui de vous, amants humains, parmis les plus comblés, et au sein des accablantes faveurs, qui de vous n'a subi l'ennui? Qui de vous, sous le coup même des mortelles délices, n'a désiré au-delà ou en-deça, n'a imaginé quelque diversion capricieuse, inconstante, et aux pieds de son idole, sur les terrasses embaumées, n'a souhaité peut-être quelque grossier échange, quelque vulgaire créature qui passe, ou tout simplement être seul pour son repos.—(*Volupté*, p. 200.)

† Le peuple c'est enfin la fille de taverne  
La fille buvant du vin bleu

*Barnave.—It is Liberty ! (Liberty staggering forward and singing a melody, of which are distinguished the following stanzas :)*

The Goddess they call Liberty  
 Is not of ancient pedigree,  
 A pampered lady fond of ease  
 Who at a cry will faint ;  
 Dwelling in gorgeous palaces  
 And dawbing her cheeks with paint.

Behold a female stout and strong,  
 Of bosom hard and large !  
 Who tramps with terrible stride along  
 Where shouting squadrons charge.

Her sombre voice is hoarse and high,  
 Her skin is brown and tann'd ;  
 There's a manly fire in her free eye,  
 And broad is her brawny hand.

She joys in the roll of the warlike drum,  
 In the powder's sulphurous smell ;  
 In the gathering people's mighty hum,  
 And the toll of the alarum bell.

---

Qui veut dans son amant un bras qui la gouverne  
 Un corps de fer, un œil de feu.  
 Et qui dans son taudit, sur sa couche de paille  
 N'a d'amour chaud et libertin  
 Que pour l'homme hardi qui la bat et la fouaille,  
 Depuis le soir jusqu'au matin.—*Barbier.*

Her lovers are of the populace,  
 She clasps to her big breast,  
 Men of her own gigantic race.  
 And when she is caressed—  
 It is—the battle won and o'er—  
 By hands where mud is mix'd with gore.\*

*Captain Brulart (regarding his own hands.)*  
 —Egad ! she means me. Here, Madam, (*pulling out a small vial*) do me the favour to put one end of this in your mouth, and I will put the other in mine—oh ! happiness, we will poison ourselves together.†

\* C'est que la liberté n'est pas une Duchesse  
 Du noble faubourg St. Germain ;  
 Une femme qu'un cri fait tomber en faiblesse  
 Qui met du blanc et du carmin.  
 C'est une femme forte aux puissantes mamelles  
 A la voix rauque, aux durs appas,  
 Qui du brun sur la peau, du feu dans les prunelles  
 Agile en marchant à grands pas,  
 Se plaît aux cris du peuple, aux sanglantes mêlées,  
 Aux longs roulemens des tambours,  
 A l'odeur de la poudre, aux lointaines volées  
 Des cloches et des canons sourds :  
 Qui ne prend ses amants que dans la populace,  
 Qui ne prête son large flanc [l'embrasse  
 Qu'à des gens forts comme elle, et qui veut qu'on  
 Avec des bras rouges de sang.

† Eh bien ! mon Arthur, nous mettrons ce mince cristal

*Liberty (with rapture)*—Yes; we will poison ourselves together.

(*Captain Brulart and Liberty seen tenderly embracing, with the little vial thus divided together.*)

*Liberty*—I am poisoned!

*Captain Brulart (taking a piece of the vial out of his mouth)*—Ha! ha! You see my vial had a false bottom; she has taken the wrong end.\* Ha! ha!

*Galerian*.—Alas! alas! Liberty is poisoned! alas! alas!

(*Here a vast crowd of courtiers and secretaries of embassy, stepping down from some little books that may be seen on a small stall, marked, 'un sous le volume,' join in a joyful chorus.*

‘Liberty is poisoned.’

(*In the midst of this confusion occasioned by the sudden and tragic death of Liberty a young gentleman holding a piece of skint in his hand, glides forward.*)

à moitié entre nos dents.... et nous le briserons au milieu d'un de ces baisers délirans.... tu sais.... See *Atar Gull*.

\* There is the same story of a false bottom in the story of Captain Brulart. The only difference is, that he (the captain) is taken in and not the lady.

† See *Peau de Chagrin*. The plan of this tale is—that a young gentleman going to drown himself meets

*Princess Claudia.*—Oh ! Governess look at this young man !

*Governess.*—I see—upon his young features, is stamped a cloudy grace ; in his regard you see efforts betrayed and hopes deceived. The sombre impassibility of the suicide gives to his forehead a paleness, dead and sickly, a bitter smile draws into slight wrinkles the corner of his mouth, but a secret genius sparkles at the bottom of his eyes veiled by the fatigue of an orgie.\*

*Galerian.*—As when a celebrated criminal arrives in the galleys, the galerians receive him with respect, so let all the persons present, expert in horrors, salute an incomprehensible grief — a wound, of which by instinct they suspect the profundity — thus recognizing one of their princes by the majesty of his gar-

with a magical skin, which is to procure him the gratification of all his desires, but which is to shrink with his possession of each ; as it shrinks, his life is to fade, and when it is quite gone, he dies.

\* Ses jeunes traits étaient empreints d'une grâce nébuleuse. Dans son regard il y avait bien des efforts trahis, bien des espérances trompées, la morne impassibilité du suicide donnait à son front une pâleur mate et maladive, un sourire amer dessinait de larges plis dans les coins de sa bouche, &c.—*Balzac. Peau de Chagrin.*

ments. Friends, countrymen, and brother novelists, I say, gaze on that sad phiz !\*

*Princess Claudia (regarding the young man with the skin, and sighing)—Tu as bien souffert pauvre ange !†*

*The young man with the skin looking around him on Captain Brulart, the Galerian, and the Governess—Thank God ! there is nothing here to desire (he takes out a rule, and measures the skin,)—shrunk one hair's breadth since I left my lodging ! and only because I wished not to wet my feet at that crossing ! oh ! oh !*

*Princess (rushing forward,‡)—I have only sufficient voice left to say 'I am yours,' Oh ! never, angel of my life, was man so beautiful !*

*Young man with the skin, (in a voice hoarse and muffled.) Fly, fly ! What would cure you will kill me.—Oh, Princess Claudia, in giving you a kiss—I give up the ghost—Yes, I die.*

\* Comme lorsqu'un célèbre criminel arrive au bagne, les condamnés l'accueillent avec respect, ainsi tous ces démons humains experts en tortures, saluèrent une douleur inouïe, une blessure dont ils soupçonnaient par instinct la profondeur et reconnaissent un de leurs princes à la majesté de ses vêtemens.”—*Peau de chagrin.*

† *Peau de Chagrin.*

‡ For this and what follows see end of ‘*Peau de Chagrin,*’ part of which is here translated.

*Princess Claudia*—Die ! and can you die without me ? So young and so beautiful ! and die ! die ! but I love you ! (*in a deep and guttural voice,*) Die ! (*she takes his hand*) Cold ! is it a dream ?

*Young man, (holding up the piece of shagreen skin, and showing it to the Princess.)*—No ! let us say adieu !

*Princess Claudia (with an air of surprise.)*—  
Adieu ?

*Young man with shagreen skin*—Yes ; this is a talisman ; it accomplishes my wishes and represents my life ; see what remains of it ! If you continue to look at me, I shall wish—and if I wish—there is but this little bit left ! just look !—

*The young Lady, taking the shagreen skin, and holding it over one of the lamps of the orchestra, attentively examines the face of her lover and the last remains of the shrinking talisman ; but he (the youth) seeing her thus beautiful from horror and from love, is no longer master of his thoughts.*

\* \* \* \* \*

(Enter, to the sound of organs, the church of Notre Dame and the Cathedral of Augsburg.)\*

\* For this humanized appearance of Notre Dame and the Cathedral of Augsburg, as well as for the simple and interesting observations of these two elegant churches, I

*Cathedral of Augsburg*—Really, my dear Notre-Dame, your part of Paris is so abominably crowded and filthy, that my new gown is tumbled all over, and my satin shoes covered with mud; but here are these gentry of yours who have been horrifying all my German horrors. I think we ought to preach them a sermon.

*Notre-Dame*—Yes; let us preach them a sermon!

*Cathedral of Augsburg*—Oh, you all-seductive thieves! and virtuous Galerians!

*Notre-Dame*—Oh, you all-trustworthy governesses and chaste princesses!

*Cathedral of Augsburg*—Oh, you, Barnave, and you, daughters of Sejan!

*Notre-Dame*—Oh, you Brulart, who call yourself Count D \* \* \*!

*Captain Brulart* (drawing a pistol from his belt with one hand, and unsheathing his cutlass with the other) Sacre Dieu! what do the old witches mean?

(He shoots *Notre-Dame*, and runs the *Cathedral of Augsburg* through the body; then yawn-

am indebted to the sublime Author of “Ahasuerus,” to whom I refer all gentlemen and ladies who wish to become better acquainted with the language and habits of comets, stars, and public buildings.

*ing and wiping his sword, exclaims,)—What a frightful dream ! \**

*(Satan here enters, followed by a number of devils carrying large brooms.)*

*The Galerian falling down on his knees—Oh God ! oh Satan ! oh heaven ! oh hell !*

*Leoni (whipping the mitre off Notre-Dame's head and making toward a trap-door)—I shall be off for Venice.*

*Barnave (gazing tenderly on a little washerwoman who had just handed him a pair of clean worsted stockings.) Accursed be the first who thought of making of horror a profession and a commerce ! accursed be the new poetic school with its hangmen and its phantoms ; they have overturned my whole being ; and here, whilst I have been observing the moral world in its most mysterious influences I have never once remarked that the pretty little “ Jenny was—become a woman.”†*

\* This is one of the ‘gentilesses’ of Captain Brulart. He takes opium, and has agreeable dreams, which he calls ‘his life,’ and he murders, tortures, and blows up people, and such like, and after these little accidents—calls out—‘quel rêve affreux !’

† “A little washerwoman tells her customers she is going to be married.” Je fus frappé comme d'un coup de foudre ; il y avait six ans que je la traitais comme un

*The Governess with the Princess in her hand advancing to Satan and curtseying*—This young Princess, please your Majesty....

*Brulart (pulling his pedigree out of his waistcoat pocket and commencing a soliloquy)*—“To be or not to be, that is the question.”

*Satan*—Not to be, scoundrel—here (*to the devils*) sweep this dust off my stage.\*

## C H A O S.

Thus, much of light literature in France is what I have pointed it—a kind of phantasmodoria ; not without talent, but without all that renders talent touching and respectable.†

enfant. Je poussai un profond soupir et me levant furieux — “ Maudit soit,” m’écriai-je, “ le premier qui s’est avisé de faire de l’horreur, métier et marchandise ! maudit soit la nouvelle école poétique avec ses bourreaux et ses phantômes ! ils ont tout bouleversé dans mon être ; à force de me faire observer le monde moral dans ses plus mystérieuses influences, ils m’ont empêché de remarquer que cette jolie petite Jenny n’était plus—un enfant.”—*L’Ane Mort et la Femme guillotinée*—

*M. Janin.*

\* See Ahasuerus again, who has introduced this new scene.

† Monsieur Sue would be forcible if he were not extravagant ; Monsieur Balzac graceful and affecting, if he did

But it is far more interesting to inquire into the causes and effects of this strange perversion of ability than to prolong our criticism upon the writing to which it has given birth. To what then are we to attribute these extraordinary productions—and what are they in their turn likely to produce?

In the first place, the popular style which history and other works of information have adopted, has abridged the numbers of light readers, and taken many of the soberer minded and better informed from that class to which the novelist ordinarily addresses himself. The consequences of free institutions has also been to not struggle to be fine, and degrade himself by being licentious. Monsieur Janin is clever, witty, brilliant, but without coherence in his larger works ; and, dallying as it were with his own fancies, he resembles the smith, who having used the anvil with force, stops in his labours to amuse himself with the sparks. G. Sand—or, to drop a mask which nobody preserves, Madame Dudevant, is in all respects an extraordinary person, and if she merit the chastisement, wins the admiration of the critic. Her style is the most eloquent of the epoch ; and though on some occasions spoilt by modern affectations, is at others tinged with that antique and sacred colouring which Rome gave to her saints, and Judea to her prophets. As wholes, her works, it is true, are false and forced, but they contain parts, natural, eloquent and true—passages rife with the emotions and the experience of their daring and beautiful authoress.

withdraw from the paths of elegant and popular literature a considerable portion of those who from their talents, and situation in life, were likely, as long as the novelist felt they were an influential portion of his readers, to moderate his extravagancies and correct his taste.

Married women, too, in France are far more occupied either in society or in the direction of their husband's affairs than with us, and unmarried women, in respectable life, are kept more strictly and more retired.

Young men, then, and kept mistresses form a vast proportion of the admirers of works of fiction; and for these, consequently, a vast proportion of such works are written. They do not therefore express the manners or feelings of society; neither do they form those feelings and manners. In old times indeed they did both; because they were then written for a higher order of persons, who, determining the ideas and habits of their time, also represented them. But these persons are now more seriously employed. Popular literature is not always to be considered as an index of the national mind; and thus, strange as it may appear, it is because the French have become more serious, more instructed and more occupied, that their lighter literature has become less creditable to the public taste.

## CHAPTER II.

Neglect in promoting Community of Thought between the French and the English—A Rogue of Ability and an Honest Man without Ability—Titled Incapacity—Principal Newspapers of Paris—The Constitutionnel—The Journal des Débats—The Gazette de France—The Quotidienne—The National—M. Armand Carrel.

IN commencing this chapter, I am obliged to call attention to the melancholy fact, that we have had ministry after ministry, prating about the advantages of a French alliance, sending ambassadors to Paris, concocting treaties with France, and neglecting the only means of establishing that sound and solid treaty with the French people, which arises from a communication of thought—an approximation towards sympathy in opinion.

The Duke of Richmond, a man of more activity and intelligence than his predecessors,

says, in a letter to Lord Althorpe :\*—that the circulation of foreign newspapers in England and the transmission of English newspapers to foreign countries have hitherto furnished their sole remuneration to certain persons in the post office; and that if salaries were paid to these persons, such salaries would amount to £3500.

“ It is,” continues his Grace, “ for the Treasury to decide whether it should burthen the country with this £3500 for no other purpose but supplying a few persons, who wish to receive foreign journals in this country or English papers abroad, with an article of luxury.

“ The circulation of foreign journals, in this country, and the transmission of English newspapers abroad, has been from time immemorial the privilege of the officers of the foreign post-office, and the proceeds form the sole remuneration for official services to the head of that office and fifteen clerks.

“ If salaries were to be paid to those persons, the aggregate would not amount to less than £3500, and it is for the Treasury to decide whether the revenue shall be burthened with an additional charge to this extent; and this not for the purpose of any general advantage to the public at large, but solely for the relief of *the few* who are desirous of receiving foreign journals in this country, or English papers abroad as an article of luxury.”

\* See “ papers relating to the post-office.”

What ! is this all that a minister, a cabinet minister, presiding over one of the most important state departments—is this all that he sees in the free circulation of the opinions of one country among the people of another ?

The Duke of Richmond is a clever man ; but were we to estimate his mind by the observation I have quoted, we should most assuredly deem it ill-qualified to use advantages and appreciate the nature of his situation.

Let us not quarrel with this nobleman for one inadvertance ; but let me say a word or two here on the system which too often introduces into power men unworthy of being compared with him, and who are chosen—not from their talent, but their rank—to which, perhaps he himself notwithstanding his ability chiefly owed his elevation. I detest the cant which condemns men because they are of noble birth ; but I also despise the mockery of selecting them merely for their pedigree.

You shudder, my countrymen, at the idea of a rogue being elevated to an important office in the state ; and your feeling is honourable to the national character of England. But what is the difference between a rogue of ability, and an honest man without ability ? why, just this : the one does as much good to himself as he can with as little harm to you ; the other does you

of a *few* luxurious gentlemen is *not all* the benefit that can be derived from an interchange of daily opinion between France and England.\*

And now, at the moment when French journals arrive more cheaply to our hands, let us enquire into their character and their influence; the opinions and the classes they represent; and the advantages and the causes of a general newspaper system altogether different from our own.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL PAPERS AND THEIR  
SUBSCRIBERS.

	Departments.	Paris.
Moniteur. . . . . . . . . . . .	850	500
Constitutionnel. . . . . . . . . .	8,300	3,500
Débats. . . . . . . . . . . .	5,900	4,000
Gazette de France. . . . . . . .	6,700	2,000
Temps. . . . . . . . . . . .	4,000	1,200
Courrier Français. . . . . . . .	3,500	1,800
Quotidienne. . . . . . . . . . .	3,700	1,000
National. . . . . . . . . . . .	2,700	1,200
Messager. . . . . . . . . . . .	400	700
Tribune. . . . . . . . . . . .	850	800
Journal de Paris.† . . . . . .	1,800	900

\* See appendix for what *has* been done.

† These are the principal newspapers of Paris, and but a short time since the newspapers of Paris formed the

If you happen to see, sitting in one of the classic chairs of the Palais Royal, a little grocer with rather a pinched in mouth and a pair of dusky brown spectacles—or if you happen to see a good, fat, red-faced dealer in sausages with just sufficient wrinkles about the eye-brow to shew a kind of lurking anxiety to have something—besides an ill-natured wife to find fault with—if you happen, I say, to see either of these gentlemen particularly busy over a paper some fine summer evening in the Palais Royal, be sure—that paper is—the *Constitutionnel*!

The *Constitutionnel* took its birth at the restoration, and was founded by MM. B. Constant, Etienne, Jay, etc. The shares, ori-

French press. Since the revolution the number of provincial journals has very considerably increased :—partly owing to the long provincial agitation by which the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty was preceded ; partly owing to the commercial movement which has lately taken place in France, and which, awakening attention to local affairs, teaches men to benefit the state in improving their own canton or their own commune.

The principal provincial newspapers are :

*Journal de Rouen*,

*Précureur de Lyon*,

*Mémorial Bordelais*,

and the journals of Nantes, Marseilles, and Hâvre.

ginally worth 5,000 francs are now worth 2, or 300,000, and produce frequently upwards of 20,000 francs a year.

The immense advance of this paper gives an interest to the manner in which it is conducted. This manner is a peculiar one. Let us transport ourselves into a large room, where a number of people are assembled, all shouting, spouting, disputing!—Let us listen! the value of an opinion is discussed, as the value of rice, indigo, or any other marketable commodity might be. Here we are amidst the shareholders of the *Constitutionnel*, who thus debate, week by week, the best course for the paper to adopt—i. e. the course most likely to please its readers.

Those readers are what would be called in France *la petite bourgeoisie*,\* a class singularly averse to great changes and never quite satisfied with what exists. A class that requires in its journal a mixture of satire and plain sense—but of that kind of plain sense which is mixed up with a tolerable share of popular prejudice. For the small French shopkeepers there are but two colours—black and white. The devil, for them, has still immense horns and a

\* The small shopkeepers.

long swishy tail. There is no idea to which they do not give some material form, or with which they do not connect some pet or popular name. To please these good folks you must paint in your expressions, and here is where the *Constitutionnel* has always been most successful. “*Les Jésuites à robe courte*,” “*les seïdes du pouvoir*,” such were the terms in which this journal spoke of that awful sect, the hobgoblin of the restoration! Never did there rise a morning that it did not hold forth upon the disciples of Loyola and their dire machinations; while the chuckling citizen felt a self-conceited pleasure in hearing of the great power, and the terrible plans of his mysterious enemy. The *Constitutionnel* has another quality not to be forgotten. It is the best teller of a murder, out and out, among its contemporaries. It dwells upon every horrible particular—it dilates and gloats upon every abominable fact—it would have lived a century on Thurtell’s murder or the Cock Lane ghost—a strong proof, by the bye, of what I said in speaking of the drama, viz. that a taste for horrible tales and terrible spectacles results rather from a coarseness of manners than a depravity of morals.

I observed, a few minutes since, that the *petite bourgeoisie* are averse to all great changes,

and never quite satisfied with what exists. This is just the tone of their organ. No paper has such a horror of a revolution or sees the red cap of 93 so visibly in the front of a republic—yet no paper protests so constantly against being ministerial. “It’s a great pity—no one regrets it more; but not a party, not a person, not an opinion, is just what it should be.” This is the tone of the *Constitutionnel*; when it attacks the government more openly, it does so not upon a principle but an act; the brutality of a police agent, the bad lighting of a street, the extravagance of a *fête*. If any doubtful case of home policy arrive, off the *Constitutionnel* starts with some question of foreign policy. The French have been insulted at Ancona; the English wish to take possession of Algiers; the Prussians are meditating an ingress into France; out comes the tri-coloured flag; your eyes are dazzled with the glory of France; a day or two afterwards *when opinion is decided*, the *Constitutionnel* returns home, and takes the *popular* party.

This paper, with all its faults however—common in its sentiments, and not peculiarly elegant in its language—is, notwithstanding, the most useful, as well as the most popular

in France ; because it constitutes a kind of intermediate link between the higher *bourgeoisie* and the people, and fills up that space between the legal and the illicit papers, which is so unfortunately and fatally vacant in England.

As the *Constitutionnel* is the organ of the *petite bourgeoisie*, the *Débats* is the organ of the great *bourgeoisie* in France.

No paper has been so attacked for a variation in its principles as the *Journal des Débats*, formerly *Journal de l'Empire*. The principles it has advocated have been different, but the party it has remained attached to has ever been the same.

The *Journal des Débats* has always represented the *bourgeoisie supérieure*; the higher branch of that body which we call the middle classes in England, and which is, more than any other, interested in the maintenance of order, in the security of property, and in peace.

The advocate of the empire, when the empire was a guarantee for that political stability, without which commerce and industry find it difficult to exist—in turn imperialist, royalist, carlist, and philipist—advocating no particular dynasty, and only leaving Charles X. when his monarchy became as much a struggle between two castes

as between two opinions—such has ever been the *Journal des Débats* ;—organ of the most important class in France, and naturally invested with a corresponding importance. No paper has so large a circulation *in Paris*, nor is any paper sustained with more tact and ability.\* To any one wishing to see the progress made by France in the last fourteen years, and the progress made more especially by that class which is now at the head of affairs, I recommend a comparison between the *Journal des Débats* of 1834, and a paper of the same title in 1820. You see a pygmy by the side of a giant. In the first place the *Débats* of 1820 is about one quarter of the size of its robust successor ; then look at the paper, at the printing ! and above all compare the style and the writing !

In short, in this paper and its progress behold a type of the body it is addressed to !

As early, however, as 1815, MM. Villemain and Salvandy mingled in the politics, and MM. Geoffroi and Hoffman in the literature of the *Débats*. M. Bertin de Vaux the present peer was also one of its principal supporters ; and along its pages has at times

\* I believe, almost entirely the property of Messrs. Bertin.

glanced the eloquent and fantastic pen of M. de Châteaubriand.

The *Gazette de France* has some resemblance to the *Standard* of England. It is written with singular talent, and advocates monarchical principles with liberality, eloquence and ability. *A royalist paper\* among a people of republican feelings its sale increases.*

The *Gazette de France* was in its glory at the time of M. de Villèle ; it opposed M. de Polignac ; and since the revolution of 1830 has taken a singular and most subtle direction. During the restoration it attacked openly and ingeniously the constitutional doctrines that were then in vogue, always respecting, as the despotism of Bonaparte would have respected, the French passion for equality ; and contending, with much impudence and plausibility, that it was an absurd prejudice to suppose that birth had ever been any barrier to the success of intelligence. It has now, keeping in view, however, its ancient course, and departing as little as possible from its ancient principles, taken a yet bolder and more popular tone of discussion.

\* It is in this paper that the ancient *Étoile* and the old *Journal de Paris* are now melted down. MM. de Peyronnet and Villèle were among its contributors.

To the charter of the restoration, its system of election and centralization, it opposes an enlightened view of the ancient constitution which Richelieu and Louis XIV destroyed ; contriving thus to trim up a very decent romance from the chronicles of those dead times. Already, in a masterly and well known view of the revolution of 1789, there had been fashioned from disjointed fragments a political Frankenstein of this description. I say a political Frankenstein—for as the magnificent but horrible creation of Mrs. Shelley was not a man resuscitated, but the shreds and patches of a variety of men combined into one form, so the constitution of M. le Maistre was not the constitution of any one time, but the bits and pieces of a variety of times, such as had never in reality existed, and harmonized together,—and which, now for the first time wrought into a compact shape, bore a pale and livid aspect among existing things.

It is, however, this creation of M. le Maistre which the *Gazette* reproduces and applauds.

The regenerated resurrection of the old provincial governments—the organization of primary assemblies, which, in many instances (the right for example of choosing a regency), would exercise a direct and immediate power.

—Such are the demands of the *Gazette de France*,—demands which, in a certain degree, meet the claim for universal suffrage on the one hand, and a desire still existing in many parts of France for independence from the capital, on the other ;—demands intended to take the power from the *bourgeoisie* of the towns, in order to place it in the hands of the provincial gentry and their dependents.

Here is the difference between the *Gazette* and the *Quotidienne* :

The *Quotidienne* does not poetize with its opinions. It does not show you royalism as it *might be* in its theatrical and popular costume, but as *it is*. There is no disguise of party hatred, no dressing up of political opinion. It has the talent which the Morning Post has lately acquired ; it has at the same time the bigotry of its English cotemporary.

The *Gazette de France*\* is the journal of the

\* The *Gazette de France* is chiefly the property of an individual, M. de Genoude, and its conduct is supposed to be the suggestion of M. Lourdoneix.

These two gentlemen were employed together during the restoration. M. de Genoude as *Conseiller d'Etat*, M. de Lourdoneix as *Chef de Division des beaux-arts*, in the office of minister of the interior, and as *Censeur Royal* ! I call attention to this occupation, as it is

young and enlightened royalists of Paris, who are glad to see their principles put into so popular a garb. The *Quotidienne* is the journal of the old-fashioned nobility, who still remember the royal coaches of Versailles. The one has been wittily called the *procureur* of legitimacy, the other the *avocat*.

The *Gazette* talks of a King and a nobility as the best for the people ;—the *Quotidienne* puts the people quite out of the question ;—but, dark in its doctrines, this paper is neither stupid nor nebulous in the style in which it displays them.

The *Constitutionnel* and the *Débats* are the

amusing enough to find in the *Censeur Royal* of the restoration, the advocate of the unlimited liberty of the press at the present time ; to which I might add that the liberal M. Étienne of the *Constitutionnel* occupied, (and filled rather cruelly towards Madame de Staël) the same odious office of *Censeur* during the time of the Empire. M. de Lourdoneix is a man of talent and imagination, and gives to what he writes a colouring that is peculiarly favourable to newspaper success.

The review of the theatres is given to M. de la Forest, who wrote better formerly than he does now ; and M. Bossange, formerly a bookseller and a liberal, has replaced as a literary reviewer, the celebrated M. Colnett, whose articles contributed at one time, to give a high literary reputation to this journal.

journals of the *bourgeoisie* great and small ; the *Gazette* and the *Quotidienne*\* of the nobility, violent and moderate. The two first are the advocates of the government of Louis Philippe, more or less devotedly :—the two last are the advocates of Henry V, and the fallen dynasty, but with equal distinctions.

I am now about to speak of a paper, remarkable before and since the revolution for its talent, and which differs essentially

\* This paper, formerly directed by M. Laurentie, whose monarchical and religious talent had passed into a proverb, has lately been deserted by that gentleman, and is at the present time, I believe, conducted by M. de Brian, a gentleman of high reputation. M. Netman is one of its ablest writers, and every Monday there appears from his pen one of those political articles, half-serious and half-gay, which have in France such success.

The literary and dramatic part of the *Quotidienne* is conducted by M. Merle, formerly Director of the Porte St. Martin, at Paris, and secretary to M. de Bourmont in his expedition to Algiers. This part of the paper is usually written not with very great ability, but in an enlightened spirit. M. de Balzac, the popular romane writer of the day, is frequently a contributor.

from any I have yet named, in respect to its opinions.

I mean the *National*.

There is this satisfaction, thank God, in speaking of a foreign country, that one is not only free, but even supposed to be free from all party influences and personal affections.

If in speaking of England, you were to say—that it will be difficult for any ministry, not containing Lord Durham, to satisfy the country, which has been won as well by his bold spirit as by his practical intelligence: if, in speaking of England, you were to say this—some time serving clerk would remark, that to attach yourself to any man is to injure your chance of office.

If, on the other hand, you said, that you considered Sir Robert Peel many degrees superior as a parliamentary leader to any man in the House of Commons, some excellent whig would remark, with indignation, that he was astonished you should speak in that way of a tory!

Nay; there are some who will look at me with astonishment for having observed—that I think many articles in the Morning Post remarkable for their point; and that I confess

the Standard to be edited by a man of ability;—and, if in the same breath, I praise the style of the Examiner and the Register—what will be the consequence? I shall pass with half my cotemporaries for a living *olla podrida* of opinions.

But thank God, I say, that I can push far from me all these little and hateful considerations, as I find myself face to face with M. Thiers and M. Carrel\*—the two most remarkable men in France: one the editor of the *National* before the revolution—one the editor of the *National* since the revolution;—one most probably a minister, when this sheet is printed;—one most probably a prisoner;—such, in the shifting scene of politics, is the fate of former friends!

M. Armand Carrel, a young officer in the

\* It is not necessary that one person should be the unprincipled advocate of disorder, because he is opposed to the government of Louis-Philippe, nor that another should be a base hankerer after place because he supports it. The unscrupulous abusers of M. Thiers and of M. Carrel are by me equally condemned. Indeed no curse to which a nation can be doomed, is greater than this rage for vilifying the private character of public opponents—for there is no curse so likely to wither and dry up the virtue of public men.

French army, when in 1823 it entered Spain, went over to the Spanish constitutionalists, and was condemned to death by a council of war at Perpignan. This decree, however, was revised by a council of war at Toulouse, and M. Carrel, owing it is said, to the private friendship of some of the judges, was acquitted. Upon this M. Carrel came to Paris, and engaged in the conduct of "the American Review," a publication now extinct, and which in its title explains the principles that this young man then entertained, and has since announced with so remarkable a talent. Pale, tall, and handsome, with a countenance agreeable but severe, and manners somewhat haughty and brusque, with the air rather of a man of war than a man of letters, M. Carrel is a singular exemplification of the great extension of that military influence to which I elsewhere alluded, and which distinguishes the journalist of France from any of his literary contemporaries.

In correspondence with his person, M. Carrel's style is stern and simple, but there is an ardour and a glow in that simplicity, which affects you the more deeply from its total freedom from affectation. M. Carrel makes no secret of his republicanism, and

dreams of placing the constitution of the United-States, taken from the weird banks of the St. Laurence, and the strange mountains of Pennsylvania, amidst the manners of the Champs-Elysées and the Boulevards.

Of all visions this is the most virtuous and the most wild. If France arrive at a republic it neither will nor can be the republic of America.

You cannot blot out the history, nor change the character, nor alter the situation of a country. And the history of France, and the character of France, and the situation of France, are all different from the history, and the character, and the situation of America. Tell me the constitution of America suits the people of America, and you tell me that it does not suit the people of France!—If a republic take place in France, it will be a military and a literary republic, as that of America is destined to be a peaceful and a commercial one.

But though I differ from the opinions, I admire the character of this honest and remarkable man.\*

\* Up to the time of its too boldly hoisting the republican flag, the *National* was frequently honored by contributions from the able pen of M. Odillon Barrot; M.

Well, therefore can I conceive that there is in France, a party to which the editor of the *National* is an angel of light and wisdom—a political Apollo—and many, indeed, were those who used to prostrate themselves in the *bureaucratic* temple, where at 2 o'clock he responded to the faithful! Then and there it was that all phrases and opinions were unscrupulously sacrificed to his presiding veto; while the most ardent republicans, such is the force of character and ability, bowed down with pleasure to this Napoleon of the press, and clung to an absolute and voluntary dictatorship.

When M. Carrel assumed the direction of the *National*, he published the following singular and distinctive paragraph: “*La responsabilité du National pèse en entier, dès ce jour, sur ma seule tête; si quelqu'un s'oubliait en invectives au sujet de cette feuille, il trouverait à qui parler.*”

Was I not right when I said the great journalist of France had assumed the place of the

Arago still occasionally writes for it, and M. St. Beuve, an author of a very peculiar style,—every sentence is so minutely chiselled, every thought so minutely developed,—added until very lately by the talent and reputation of his literary articles, to the weight and popularity of this journal.

great Lord? Is not this rather the defiance of a chivalric noble, than what we should call the puff of a newspaper editor? Why then say there is nothing in the character of a people, or tell me that I am light and frivolous, if I venture through its various ramifications to track it out? The dullest critic cannot despise me for the comparisons I have sometimes made, so much as I slight and despise those, who deem that the past is separate from the present—who consider that the destiny of a nation depends wholly upon its immediate and material interests—wanting the philosophy which they condemn the want of—and incapable of enlarging their dim intelligence to the view of those moral, but not inferior causes which have descended to us, an unavoidable heritage from far distant generations!\*

What the *Gazette* is to the *Quotidienne*, and the *Constitutionnel* to the *National*—the *National* is to the *Tribune*.

\* *Le Bon Sens*, a republican paper, not long established and at present not widely circulated, is written notwithstanding, with very great ability, and contains in MM. Cauchois Lemaire, l'Herminier and M. C. Didier, most able and eloquent contributors.

This paper almost treats M. Carrel and the *National* as aristocrats. It is supposed to be in the pay of the Bonapartists; and having a certain circulation in the *ateliers*, possesses in M. Marrast its editor, a man of ability.

## CHAPTER III.

Opera Box of the *Temps* Newspaper—M. Thiers—Eminent Writers in Newspapers—Different Rank held in their respective countries by the French and English Journalists—Effect of High Taxes connected with the Press—System of Governing by Wealth—Education of the Working Classes—Unjust Restriction—Its Consequence—Advantages of the low price of Newspapers in France—The Daily Press in France embodies more of the Intelligence of France, than the Daily Press of England does of the Intelligence of England—Folly of a System of Persecution—Extent to which this System has been carried by the Government of Louis-Philippe.

IF you went to the French opera and saw a very large and very brilliant box, rather larger and more brilliant than any other—whose would you suppose it to be? The king's? no: a minister's? no: an ambassador's? no: a Russian prince's? no: an English lord's? no: a French peer's? a deputy's? guess again:

That box is the *Temps'* newspaper's!

What! a newspaper have a box at the

opera? to be sure;—that box is where the newspaper does the greatest part of its business.

You see that fat smooth-faced little gentleman, and that tall thin pale figure in spectacles—one was a great man a little time ago, the other expects to be a great man soon. The editor is giving these statesmen an audience. They tell him their views, he listens. They tell him the strength of their party, he takes a note. They tell him what course they mean to pursue, he proffers advice.

The editor is a clever man. This is his way of conducting his journal. He pretends that to influence the politics of the day, and indeed to know the politics of the day, he must know the political men of the day. He makes his paper the organ of a party, and he makes himself the head of the party. But how to keep this party together?

He used to give dinners—he now takes an opera-box. I do not know any thing that better paints the character of the French, or of the state of France: than—the journalist at the head of his political party—assembled—in a box at the opera.

In England a paper has immense consideration; but the editor, however respectable, little. You rarely hear him spoken of—in

few cases is he known, unless pelted on some accidental occasion by public abuse into notoriety. As for newspaper writers, they are generally held below surmise. We do not think it worth while even to guess who they are.

There seems on all sides the most ignorant willingness to submit to newspaper despotism, coupled with an equally ignorant contempt for those who direct it.

When M. Thiers paid a visit to London a year ago, the English papers and the writers in these papers, strange to say, affected to sneer at M. Thiers, because, forsooth, he had been a writer in a newspaper. I need hardly remark that they shewed, by such conduct, a very mean opinion of themselves, and a very gross ignorance of that country in the affairs of which M. Thiers takes so conspicuous a part. It is difficult to point out a public man of any eminence in France, who has not written in a newspaper.

M. Benjamin Constant, M. de Châteaubriand, M. de Lalot, M. de Villèle, M. Salvandy, M. Villemain, M. B. de Vaux, l'Abbé de Pradt, M. Arago, M. Odillon Barrot, have all written in newspapers; and the only man worthy of being put into competition with M. Thiers, at the present moment—the only man whom at the time I am writing, the dynasty has seriously

to dread, is that gentleman who lately sought a refuge on our shores,\* and whose talents and integrity have been made visible through the channel of a daily journal.

These are facts: into the causes of these facts—the advantages and the disadvantages attendant upon these facts, let us inquire!

It has been said that the different rank which the French and English journalists hold, in their respective countries, is chiefly attributable to the English newspaper-writer being anonymous and the French not.

There is an error here; and the effect is mistaken for the cause. The different degree of respect which the writers in French newspapers enjoy cannot proceed from the signature of their names, because the political writers in the French newspapers (the class most considered,) do not sign their names. They make no mystery of their names, certainly; they usually acknowledge and even boast of their productions—but they do not sign their names, and might be anonymous if they pleased it. It is not because they publish their names that they are respected—it is because they are respected that they make no secret of their names.

\* M. A. Carrel of whom I have been speaking.

To ascertain the cause of this, we must ascertain the causes which constitute the success of a paper in France and the success of a paper in England.

What makes an English journal so powerful? a foreigner arrives in England—he goes to the Traveller's—he hears his neighbours say: “I do not think the ministry can stand, see how the —— attacks it.” “Is the —— such a very formidable paper then?” he says. “Oh! yes, a very formidable paper indeed.” The foreigner takes up the paper, reads it thrice through—and unless it happen to be one of those field days, on which I admit a remarkable article may appear—falsely attributes to his want of a perfect knowledge of English, his inability to see the peculiar merits of a composition which has in reality no such merits at all.

Convinced, however, that the merits are there, he enquires: “Pray, who is the great writer in this journal?” “Writer—writer!” repeats his informant, “upon my word I do not know—they say a Mr. ——um writes in it.”

“Is Mr. ——um such a very great writer then?” adds my curious stranger, “it is very odd that I never heard of his name before. Is Mr. ——um then one of your first writers?”

“I rather think not—I believe not—I do not know that he is,” says the Englishman, and

the foreigner remains not much the wiser for the questions I have taken the liberty to put into his mouth ; for it never for one moment occurred to him that the writing of a paper has very little to do with its success ;—if it had, Mr. Fonblanque would monopolise public attention.

Why is this in England ? On account of the fourpenny tax ? not on account of this tax alone perhaps ; but on account of this tax and the system of government, and the state of property which is connected with this tax. A paper has got a great capital—it has been established a long while. It would require a fortune to start a competitor against it. These are the circumstances which make a paper powerful, and as a paper can be powerful in spite of its writers, so the paper is respected when the writers are not.

In France, on the contrary, where the stamp duty is low and fortunes small, a paper depends wholly upon its writers. Good writers are absolutely necessary for good newspapers—the power of the newspaper then, is the power of the writer ; and therefore the writers for newspapers take the rank of the newspapers in which they write.

Besides, as newspapers must profess their opinions with ability or those opinions lose ground, all persons interested in particular

opinions are interested in supporting particular newspapers. From this double action, as it were—from the rank and power which writing with ability in a paper gives, and the interest which all persons, whatever their political rank, have in supporting with their pen the journals which profess their political sentiments, journalism in France is perfectly different from journalism in England.

The effect of a high tax in a country where there are great fortunes, is to encourage rich men and to exclude poor men from entering upon newspaper speculation. Rich men once so occupied, they erect expensive machinery, and collect expensive information. The effect of a low tax in a country, where there are not great fortunes, is to engage men of talent and not to engage men of wealth in such undertakings—poor men of talent must rely upon talent. So that in one country success depends chiefly upon capital: in the other, success depends altogether upon ability—here consequently the paper is esteemed,\* there the writer.

\* Let us remark this: capital is more necessary than talent for newspapers in England, here the tax operates—and French newspapers are written better than English ones—talent is more necessary than capital for reviews in England—here no tax does operate—and the English reviews are far superior to the French ones.

The power of the journals in England then is what the power of the boroughmongers was—the power of money in a particular channel—but with this difference, that its agents are invisible and irresponsible to that public opinion which they evoke.\*

The system of governing by wealth—the natural consequence of large accumulations of wealth—extends itself into the newspapers as it extended itself into the senate—and upon the same principle that a man of large fortune is even still considered, *ipso facto*, the proper person to make laws (never mind his intellect) for the greater number who are poorer and more intelligent than himself, so a newspaper of great capital is considered the proper organ of just opinions.

I believe it is a-not-to-be-controverted fact that Blacks and Whites have invariably con-

\* It may so happen that the press, conducted ably in one country, will produce more mischief, than worse conducted, it produces in another—because the people in this country may be more exciteable and less sensible than the people of that; but I do think it will be acknowledged, that where power is to be conferred it is safer in the hands of the most talented and considerable men in the country, whose names are known and whose lives may be inquired into, than in the hands of a set of anonymous agents—the anonymous agents of a mysterious corporation.

demned the Almighty to be of their own peculiar colour.—

The castes of mankind have followed this example, and the revolutionary populace of Paris, as the formidable council of Venice, equally declared that the only honest class of society was that which happened to be in power.

This country has long been governed by very rich men, and very rich men have very naturally laid it down as a principle that great riches are an unequivocal sign that the persons possessing them will take care of the wealth of their neighbours. Now, so much of this is true, that a very rich man will not in general, wish to do any thing injurious to the welfare of very rich men.

Whether a very rich man is, or whether many very rich men combined are, likely to govern for the interests of the far greater mass of very poor, or moderately rich men, has never yet been taken soberly into consideration.\*

\* The richer a man is, the better guarantee people imagine they have for his good conduct: "He has got a great stake in the hedge and you may depend upon it he will take care of the hedge," is the common expression: which ought rather perhaps to be—"you may depend upon it he will take care of the great stakes in the hedge," for it is not quite so certain that he will not try to get hold of the little ones.

That a man, who has got great property will preserve property, seems an undeniable axiom, until we consider the various ways in which property may be taken away. For instance, the old nobility of France had great property, but it is not quite clear to me, when by the power which this property gave them, they refused to pay any share in the contributions of the state, that they did not rob their fellow citizens who were thus obliged to pay an ampler share than was just of the public burthens. The borough-possessing aristocracy of England had great property, but it is not quite clear to me, that they did not rob the people of England, when, by means of their great property, they got great parliamentary influence, and by means of their great parliamentary influence they got great sinecures, many of which we—the people of England—are still paying to this aristocracy and their relations.

Whenever great wealth can give great power, great wealth is just as likely to lead to abuses as if this great power came from any other source. The rich man, in short, is just as likely to rob the poor man, if he has the capability of doing so, as the poor man is to rob the rich one—always supposing in either case that principle is not there as a preventive.

But this has not been the common opinion ; and the taxes on newspapers, which necessitate a large fortune for carrying on a newspaper with success, form part of a plan which places power under the security of wealth.

The theory may be plausible—but what are its effects ?

1<sup>st</sup>ly By giving journalism the basis rather of money than of mind, you make the writers of papers less known, because less respected, and less responsible, because less known.

2<sup>d</sup>ly By restricting competition to the very rich, you make papers themselves more powerful than they ought to be, and encourage them to be less honest.

3<sup>d</sup>ly By creating a price for papers which but few, speaking comparatively, can afford, you make them regardless of the interests and feelings of the great masses by whom they cannot be bought.

The first proposition I have shewn.

The second is self-evident.

The third I come to the consideration of—impressed, I confess, with a deep sense of its importance.

And, let us allow that there is something a little ludicrous in the air of comfort with which the legislator hugs himself in his present contri-

press which is so remote from all their views, habits, and ideas, that it would never enter into their heads to suppose that it could exist, but for the kindness of some attorney-general, who, by an untimely prosecution now and then, instructs them of the circumstance.

For instance :

TO THE INSURGENT AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

“ You are much admired for every thing you are known  
“ to have done during the last month ; for as yet, there  
“ is no evidence before the public that you are incendiaries  
“ or even political rebels. Much as every thoughtful man  
“ must lament the waste of property, much as the country  
“ must suffer by the burnings of farm produce now going  
“ on, were you proved to be the incendiaries, we should  
“ defend you by saying, that you have more just and moral  
“ cause for it than any king or faction, that ever made  
“ war, had for making war.

\* \* \* \*

“ A Constitutional Monarchy is hypocrisy sanctioned,  
“ by law ; its terms and limits can never be legally  
“ defined ; it is a constant contest for power among fac-  
“ tions ; it is, on the part of the people, a state of con-  
“ quest, or ignorant slavery ; if hereditary, it is liable  
“ to bad passion, to imbecility or to idiocy ; it is a  
“ compound of contradiction ; it engenders, as it has *now*  
“ engendered in England, all sorts of abuses ; it becomes  
“ the government of an aristocracy ; and it is, in fine and  
“ in fact, the worst and most degrading form of govern-  
“ ment that has ever been devised for a people.

\* \* \* \*

“ On the Sunday mornings and evenings, and on the Friday evenings, the service is very properly called *divine*, and is certainly the best theological service that has yet been presented to a congregation. The character of the Deity is *vindicated* on the Sunday morning, by Mr. *Carlile*, against the monstrosities set up in that name by the priests and fanatics!!!—*The Prompter*.

“ Man rung by want, goaded by insult, duped, mad-dened, starved, is no longer man—he is a monster!—let them beware of the unearthly thing they have formed! He will ravage! rage! burn! he will (as in Ireland) *adorn* himself with blood!” — *Poor Man's Guardian*.

I could then turn to a tirade in which the title, that monarchical England cheerfully pronounces, is impudently laid aside, and the sovereign abused under the somewhat plain title of “ Mr. Guelph,” for neglecting the interests of the people, whose liberties he was at that very moment prudently, but at the same time magnanimously, extending.

Even the illustrious Princess to whom England owes so much for a retirement beneath which the royal hope of these countries has been discreetly reared—notwithstanding her prudent privacy, and conduct that defies reproach—is attacked with vulgar and voluntary virulence; nor is there any principle, person, or authority so sacred in the eyes of these printed preachers to the people as to claim their for-

bearance or respect.\* Is there danger in this? Remember—these violent absurdities are addressed to a class possessing excellent intentions, and generous sympathies, but ignorant, naturally jealous of the great, and totally without any other organ of opinion. Nay more, the journal I have been quoting from—silly as we see it, and contemptible as we may wish it to be—is written not without a certain eloquence and ability, and sold, when I last enquired, about 400 copies a week in Coventry alone; while at the very moment at which I am writing 70,000 copies are sold per week of similar unauthorized publications.

They are sold in opposition to the law—they are of course, written against the law—they are sold in spite of the wealthy classes—they are of course, written against the wealthy classes.

How can you hope for peace and harmony in the community when you cut in two the stream of opinion—when you exclude the peasant from that branch which you direct to the proprietor, and hide from the proprietor

\* I will take this opportunity of observing that we have a pledge from the existing government that the cause of this nuisance shall be withdrawn at the earliest moment compatible with the necessities of the revenue. This is the first pledge of the kind we have received, and I never for my own part, deemed it a wise or worthy policy to disgust those who profess friendly intentions by manifesting a hitherto unmerited suspicion.

that branch which is flowing on to the peasant?\*

Rest assured that if there be any thing to prevent a violent convulsion among our neighbours, it is that low price of papers which allows every doctrine to enter into every home.—If there be any thing likely to bring about a convulsion among ourselves, it is that severance between the sevenpenny papers which go to the peer's breakfast table, and the twopenny papers which go to the mechanic's cottage.

There is another advantage in the French system: by making intelligence the governing principle of the press you bring into action a power which, from its very nature, is always preparing futurity:—

By making wealth the governing principle, you put into action a power which is never addressed but to the moment.

Any child told to look at the state of England, at the present moment, and to put his

\* If you have a very high tax that high tax is avoided—and the press consists of two extremes. If you have a moderate tax by diminishing the advantage of disobeying the law and thereby providing for its obedience—you have a press addressing itself to a middle class, and therefore taking a moderate tone—uniting the two classes most opposed, and not separating them.

finger on the dark spot which bodes the storm, would point to that, which as yet but dimly visible, indicates a struggle between the few who have much, and the mass who have nothing.

I do not ask—whether it be better for a nation, that its property should be so disposed—but I say merely if it be better that such should be the distribution of property, it is most necessary that all classes,—that the class which is poor as well as the class which is wealthy—should be informed of it. If such a state of things is to continue it can only continue by its advantages being generally proved ; if such a state of things is to be altered, it can only be safely altered by keeping each class in constant communication with the views and feelings of the other.

This is the difference between the past and the present: in the past you kept the people ignorant, and the people weak. In the first place, they did not busy themselves about their condition ; in the next it signified little to you if they did. But you have now given them intelligence and power: you must therefore either satisfy them with their condition, or you must, by frequent interchange of opinion, arrive gradually at a safe method of changing it.

Let your newspapers address the great mass

of the nation, they will, in a certain degree, adopt—they will, in a certain degree, form—the opinion of the great mass of the nation. The government will as a matter of course accommodate itself to the guide which will then be there to steer its course. Where there is *a tendency to one great opinion there will be no great convulsion*—but keep opinions separate; let the rich think one way and the poor another, and I defy you to prevent a war between the poor and the rich.

If I say that the daily press in France embodies more of the intelligence of France, than the daily press of England does of the intelligence of England—if I say that the differences of opinion among the papers which find circulation in this country are more marked and more dangerous than those which are exhibited by the journals in circulation at the other side of the channel, I am very far from intending to assert or to prove that French journalism is a model of wisdom or moderation.

You cannot have the French press what the French nation is not.—As the one is quick, passionate, light in its judgment, and fickle in its ideas, so the other will neither be wise nor wary in its expressions. But observe! As a natural

consequence of the French press, as a whole, addressing itself to the great mass of the French nation, any fraction of it, advocating a favorite class, or a particular opinion, is the least influential when it is the most violent; while the press itself, considered altogether as a political engine, must ever be the *most powerful* when it is *the most moderate*.

The first is a fact, and requires no argument in its favour. The most moderate liberal paper is the *Constitutionnel*.

The subscribers to the *Constitutionnel* in the departments are 8,300—in Paris, 3,500. Nearly double the number of any other liberal newspaper. The *Temps*, for instance, has for subscribers in the departments 4000—in Paris, 1,200.

The *Gazette de France* is the most moderate of the Royalist papers. The *Gazette* has for subscribers in the departments 6,700—in Paris, 2000. The *Quotidienne* has in the departments 3,704, and in Paris 1000.

The *National* is the most moderate republican paper, and it has 2,700 subscribers in the departments, and in Paris 1000. The *Tribune* 850 in the departments, and 800 in Paris.

The moderate papers then of the three opinions—liberal, royalist, and republican—have

about double the number of subscribers, possessed by their less moderate competitors.

This is my first assertion—now for my second!—viz: that the press in France will be most powerful when it is most moderate;—or rather that—*the press in France, as a political engine, will not be very powerful, except where it is very moderate.*

Let us see how far this—which all must grant, involves important considerations—is a true proposition!

The French press addresses itself to the entire nation; *i. e.* every class that can read—or which has an opinion in the nation.

Now let us suppose it has any given object in view—say the overthrow of a dynasty, or a ministry—in order to be powerful, it must endeavour to unite the different classes it addresses in favor of that object.

But for the press, as a whole, to effect this—each part of the press, the tendency of which is to address a certain class, must make concessions to the other—the more concessions that are made by each part of the press, the more united the whole press becomes; and when the press is the most united, it is the most powerful. But what is moderation? the mean way between opinions—in proportion to the

number of opinions brought to a standard by the press, is the moderation of the press—and in proportion to the number of opinions brought to a standard by the press—is the power of the press:—the power of the press and the moderation of the press then, are, in fact, the same thing, where the press addresses itself to every reading class among the people.

Supposing, however, that the press from its price or any other cause, address itself only to one class ; it will then have no occasion to be moderate—if it address itself to two classes, it will have only occasion to conciliate these two classes—three the same.

The more classes, therefore, that the press addresses, the greater certainty you have of coupling its power with a necessity for its moderation.

This is what I admire in the press of France—only powerful when it is moderate ; it is only dangerous to a government which is not so.

The time when the press was most powerful in France, was during the ministry of M. de Polignac. It was then that all shades of liberal opinions were united, and it was this which made the liberal tone, that it adopted, at once so calm and so strong. The revolution destroyed the power of the press,

because it destroyed its unity and its moderation, and broke up into the fractions of republicanism and royalism, the general expression of liberal feelings and opinions.

The more violent the press becomes, the more it splits itself into fractions, and becomes weak: the more violent the government becomes, the more it unites and keeps the press together and makes it powerful. Hence the folly of a system of persecution and repression—a folly of which I regret to find the present administration guilty.

We can see to what an extent this system has unfortunately been carried !!

NAMES OF THE NEWSPAPERS.	LAW-SUITS, CONDAMNED ARTICLES.	TERM OF Imprisonment.			FINES, Interest, and Costs, by Approximation.	
		Years	Mths	Days.	fr.	c.
The Tribune. . . . .	86	17	14	2	82,474	62
The Révolution. . . . .	32	11	9	3	41,469	27
The Quotidienne. . . . .	17	12	1	10	23,637	61
The Gazette de France. . . . .	18	8	1	9	24,013	12
The National. . . . .	12	1	—	1	6,175	27
The Charivari. . . . .	1	1	—	1	6,175	27
The Caricature. . . . .	7	4	1	1	5,528	27
The Corsaire. . . . .	2	2	1	—	2,420	27
The Courrier Français. . . . .	1	1	—	1	250	27
The Journal du Commerce. . . . .	1	—	—	—	—	27
The Messager des Chambres. . . . .	2	—	—	—	—	27
The Temps. . . . .	1	—	—	—	—	27
Different small papers. . . . .	127	48	10	10	50,842	20
Societies. . . . .	65	21	15	3	25,066	27
Private individuals. . . . .	39	17	9	8	33,505	27
<b>TOTAL. . . . .</b>	<b>411</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>301,554</b>	<b>155</b>

*Journal du Commerce.*

I am quite convinced that there is not one  
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of these prosecutions which has not had the effect I have described; viz: that of making the press more powerful against the government which instituted them, by uniting the press against that government.

In fact, a government in the situation of the French government, when it prosecutes the press because it is violent, ends by being itself the representative of that violence which it began by putting down.

The parties attacked become more moderate from a necessity of union; the party attacking more desperate from a sense of danger.

The prosecutions of the restoration coalesced, as I have had occasion to say, the Bonapartists and the patriots; and it was this coalition which overthrew the Bourbons: the prosecutions of the *juste-milieu* are tending to unite the carlists and the republicans, and that is the best chance of overthrowing Louis-Philippe.\*

As I write this sentence, the new law rings in my ears; but it will not be, till the conclusion of this work that I shall speak of an act, which should be considered less in respect to the Press than to general policy.

\* See Appendix for different facts connected with the French press; the duties, laws, etc.

# RELIGION.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Force of an Opinion propped up by a habit—Le Roi très-chrétien—State of religion in France—Châteaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme*.

THERE are few things more difficult to ascertain than the real force of an opinion, which has long been propped up by a habit.

The shadow remains so long upon the surface of things after the reality has passed away—the sensation of an effect continues so long after the cause has ceased—that we are for ever in the habit of deceiving ourselves and imagining that, that lives from faith and belief which in fact only continues from indifference and from custom. Here is the error which unhappily prevails in all revolutions, and

induces a minority to resist where there is nothing to be gained but by concession !

Here is the error which statesmen have been too frequently guilty of, and travellers and superficial observers almost invariably fallen into !

Here is the error which produces so many of those contradictions which encounter us in every page of history, and raise up, side by side, things which appear utterly incompatible with each other.

Let us suppose that we were two thousand years removed from the time of Louis XV, and that some book of voyages—the book of an Herodotus of the 18th century who had visited the court of France—fell into our hands.

“ This monarch,” (Louis XV) he would say, “ is called *le Roi très-chrétien*; and the religion of Christ condemns as deadly—the crimes of fornication and adultery.

“ The very Christian King, nevertheless, lives openly with a prostitute, and employs the money he receives from his very christian subjects in maintaining an immense seduction house, which he fills with the most beautiful he can procure of their very christian daughters.”

—What would you say on reading this page?  
“ Bah ! This King might call himself ‘ very

Christian' and his people might call themselves ' very Christian,' too, if they pleased it, but after all, the piety of both parties must have consisted in the mere puppet-show of their appellation." Stop a little ! we will turn, if you please, to our traveller's next page ! What shall we say, when we find there—that the King we have just seen described—living in the greatest pomp and exercising an uncontrolled sway over his people—descended from his throne once every year, and in observance of one of the great duties of christianity, washed with his own hands the feet of a certain number of dirty beggars who were brought to him from the streets for this pious purpose ?

Where is the sovereign accustomed to pomp, to luxury and to power, who would descend from his throne in so humiliating a manner—to perform so disgusting an office—unless it were loudly demanded from him either by his own conscience, or by that of the nation he governed ? " The very Christian King " you would affirm " must have been very christian after all."

But the question would not rest here : crowds of learned commentators would arise to shew that things could not be as they were printed,

that there must be error in one passage or the other.

Some would say, "the whole text is a forgery," others would prove irrefragably that part of it had been illegitimately inserted; and woe unto the low and humble critic who should venture to whisper that things inconsistent are compatible; that the *Parc aux Cerfs* might be—a picture of existing manners; and the pious ablution of the beggars—the shadow of manners that were gone by.

I remember when M. de Ségur returned from his embassy to St. Petersburgh he was startled at the sudden tone of familiarity and equality that the French people had assumed; "Not many months before," said he, "no people in the world were more obsequious and cringing to their superiors."—Yes; there had been a sudden change in forms, because there had been a gradual but silent change in ideas.

It is important to have such examples as these before us, without which we are perpetually confusing effects and causes; and charging one poor moment of time with the events of which long years before ought justly to bear the burthen.

At the time of the revolution of 1789 I doubt much if there were not less real reli-

gion in France, than there is even at the present moment; there was far more of that kind of religion throughout the country, however, which with statists passes for religion itself:—of that kind of religion which is altogether independent of thought and scrutiny, and rests simply on ignorance, blind credulity, and a conformity to traditional custom.

At the time of the revolution the higher classes were sceptical, the middle classes indifferent, the lower classes superstitious.

The worst evil of violent prepossessions, unconnected with reflection, is the violent re-action that ensues when doubt insinuates itself into the place of blind belief.

I say—"doubt,"—but ignorant people rarely doubt; foolishly believing one moment, they as foolishly persecute for belief the next. This is why the mass are still for ever in extremes, as in darker times all men were.

Let no one then support ignorance on the ground that it is favorable to religious belief! It is favorable to religious belief—but alas! it is favorable also to irreligious re-action. It is favorable to fanaticism of all kinds;—the fanaticism of faith—the fanaticism of infidelity. The mob of September butchering the priests,

is the proper *pendant* to the mob of St. Bartholomew, butchered by the priests' orders.

As long as the lower classes are worse instructed than those above them, so long, let us remember, every feeling, whether it be political or religious, as it descends in society, will become more violent, and more extreme. Thus the religious indifference of one class, (disciples of Diderot, Voltaire and Helvetius) became irreligious persecution when it reached the crowd before which Marat appeared as an apostle.\*

But it was not from this band of brutal reformers that the humbled ministers of Christ had anything to fear for their beautiful creed.

The people who had yielded to the light and graceful assaults of ridicule and wit, revolted, and with justice, from the uncouth and savage attacks of the assassins who, with an admirable honesty of intention substituted the guillotine in the place of the fagot; and with mercy in

\* How would the philosopher of Ferney have been disgusted at seeing all the ancient cruelties of religion perpetrated under the hapless name of philosophy; philosophy, however, is no more to blame for the abominations of Robespierre, than religion for the crime of Ravillac.

their hearts and charity on their lips, committed acts more atrocious than any they professed to extirpate.

Under the sentences of a savage infidelity, religion, like those hardy plants, that are nourished by the storm, recovered a passing appearance of returning health. The priest poor, persecuted, concealed, proscribed, no longer the executioner but the victim—no longer the proud tenant of a palace, but the miserable occupant of a prison—the priest, in this crisis of his misfortunes, rose from the grovelling position into which he had been plunged by his prosperity:—amidst the terrors of the republic, and the licence of the Directory, there spread among the French, a sense that the rites of their forefathers might have been wronged—that the vices of the clergy were not necessarily impurities of the church—while all men, even those who deem slight differences in creed of small religious importance, who coolly regard a matter of faith as they would a matter of finance, saw with pleasure the return to what they considered the decencies of a superstitious ignorance, as far preferable to the wild disorders of a vicious and unnatural struggle after thought.

It was amidst these mingled feelings, favorable to the attempt, that a variety of circumstances concurred in re-establishing and vindicating the ancient religion.

But that religion appeared in its resurrection still covered with the flowers under which it had been laid in the tomb. It uplifted itself, breathing the perfumes and borrowing the charms of the elegant philosophy which had destroyed it. Far different from the rude and stern apostle of the desert — the modern champion of the faith uprose brandishing the graceful arms, and proud in the painted panoply of his opponents ; no longer demanding belief, as the spontaneous result of faith, the christian solicited it as the well meditated result of reason.

“ Il ne faut plus prouver,” said he, “ que le christianisme est excellent parce qu’il vient de Dieu, mais qu’il vient de Dieu parce qu’il est excellent.”

Nor was this all : I could not desire a stronger proof of the power of literature in France, than that which is to be found in the *Génie du Christianisme*.

What is that eloquent work?—a pleading before the Academy in favor of the gospel;

a series of arguments intended to prove—that christianity is *in very excellent taste*.\*

This may be true, or not true; but to a person seriously occupied with his eternal salvation it would seem rather ridiculous to tell him that he was sure to be saved by his doctrine because it was favorable to the arts. The French, I mean that part of the French to whom M. de Châteaubriand addressed himself were not seriously occupied with their eternal salvation; they were sick of the cant and the cruelties of infidelity; they had witnessed amidst severe trials, the comforts of religious consolation; and without feeling absolutely convinced of the truth of the divine law, they wished for an excuse to believe it.

Such was the moment at which the young poet, returning from his travels, introduced piety into Paris under the mask of a muse. He wore his opinions with the grace with which Madame Récamier folded her handkerchief:† and the christianity of the one and the *coiffure* of the other soon became equally à *la mode*.

\* See Appendix.

† Madame Récamier invented, about this time, a head dress that went by her name.

## CHAPTER V.

Disappearance of the Impiety of the Republic—Religion re-established by Bonaparte—Doctrine of the Royalists at the Restoration—Ambition of the “*parti prêtre*”—The Jesuits.

AND now all the impiety of the republic, all that bigoted and furious hatred of the church and its priests had disappeared.

“Je dois dire,” says M. de Montlozier, “que je ne trouvai alors nulle part l'esprit irréligieux systématique que j'avais vu avant 1789 ; je trouvai encore moins l'esprit irréligieux, haineux, incendiaire, qui s'était produit depuis, et qui avait particulièrement dominé l'âge de la révolution. Un petit nombre de prêtres sauvés, comme à la nage, des dernières tempêtes, d'autres récemment revenus des contrées étrangères, tout cela obtenait, non seulement l'estime mais le respect ; il n'y avait pas jusqu'à l'impiété elle-même qui, honteuse de

ses excès passés, ne supportât franchement les prêtres ou même ne les accueillit.”\*

But if the catholic church arose—“the catholic priest had no civil existence—no worldly importance.”

Bonaparte, in re-establishing religion, gave no power to the ministers of religion. Here was the great difference between the empire and the restoration.

The one said, a holy creed is not to be prescribed by the drunken folly of demagogues; the other said a great nation ought to be governed by the monkish policy of priests. Napoleon was for maintaining a great moral and political institution useful to government in general. The Bourbons were for maintaining a set of tried partisans, and faithful adherents, as useful to their government in particular: this was the doctrine of the royalists in 1814 and 1815; and lo! the church which, as bodies perish from excess of blood, fell, under the old

\* I ought to say that I nowhere found the systematic irreligious spirit which I had seen in 1789. Still less did I find that irreligious, hateful, and incendiary spirit which has since appeared and which ruled the age of the revolution. A small number of priests, saved from the last storms, others newly returned from foreign countries—these obtained not only esteem but respect. Even impiety itself, ashamed of its past excesses, supported frankly the priesthood and received it.

régime, a victim to its wealth and its possessions—which invigorated by the persecutions of the republic, maintained itself with dignity during the decent protection of the empire—was again prostrated by the favoritism of the restoration.

In order to understand the violent change in opinion which a few years so suddenly produced, in order to understand why the church which had been gradually growing into vogue during the empire, became so thoroughly and bitterly detested during the restoration, it is necessary to have these facts before our minds.

During the empire, religion sought to raise itself by flattering the prevailing tastes of the French people; during the restoration it sought the same distinction by destroying those tastes.

During the empire, religion was attached to the state, but its ministers were kept wholly attached to religion; during the restoration, religion and the ministers of religion were confounded, and as the one was thought necessary to the people, so the other was consulted by the government.

To change the nature, to contradict the habits, to annihilate the recollections of the French people—such was the gentle ambition of the “*parti prêtre*”—who in prohibiting the dance, and the festival, frowning on the aca-

demy, excommunicating the theatre, interfering with the exchange,\* deemed it possible to subvert the character, and thwart all the ideas of an epoch.

There was one feeling in common to the partizans of the divine right of kings, and the party who contended with quite as much reason that their rights were the only rights divine—viz: a deep dissatisfaction at the existing state of things. The *parti prêtre* then and the *parti (soi-disant) royaliste* united—the one taking the church as an instrument to restore the golden days of the crown;—the other making the crown a pretext to aid the designs of the church. The aim of this confederation was to maintain to the clergy an influence, which, as their doctrines became every day more notoriously unpopular, they every day more notoriously lost.

There were only two ways left to do this: for the time when it could have been done by the pulpit and the confessional was past: there were only two ways left to do this—to bring up a new generation in the thoughts which it was impossible to give the existing one; and to lend the priest an authority, as civil servant

\* The clergy even forbade the receiving of interest for money lent.

of the government, which he could not hope to possess as mere minister of religion.

Accordingly, to bring the clergy into the magistracy and the ministry, and to place the clergy at the head of education—such was the plan of those who wished to priestride the people—while to oppose this plan became clearly the object of the people, if they did not wish either themselves or their children to be priest-ridden. But directly the government meant to employ the church in worldly matters, and that the church itself meant to engage in the affairs of the world, that body of the catholic priesthood, which since the time of its institution has been most adroit in uniting clerical interests with political ability, rose at once into notice and power.

I can join in none of the ungenerous abuse with which the Jesuits have been frequently overwhelmed. The great and wise, and learned reformers, who, humanizing religion mixed with mankind, who succeeding the templars, possessed it is true the avarice and ambition of that military order, but who, as bold and crafty, were neither so cruel nor intolerant as their predecessors ;—not less adventurous than those daring knights—but founding the society of Paraguay, instead of desolating the East with the sword—the decried Jesuits were a body

of men to whom humanity owes much ; and whose cunning and duplicity are at least as pardonable as the ignorant and violent, and blood thirsty spirit of their contemporaries. Remark, however ! this society when it appeared, had to defend the church against the sword ; the power of the mind against the power of brute force ; and in order to govern the monarch, it was necessary to have the affection of the mass. But when the church instead of contending against princes, had to look to princes for its support, the policy, the conduct, and the bearing of the order of Loyola changed, in accordance with the change that had taken place in the world around it.

The Jesuits then, under the restoration, were what they had never been before : no longer popular and pliant, they were proud and insolent ; no longer bowing to the commons, they flattered the crown ; and appearing in front of the party that was odious to the nation concentrated upon themselves, as it were, the national hatred.\* And now, just at

\* If an opinion was to be maintained, it was anti-Jesuitical ; if a minister was to be destroyed he was a Jesuit ! *à bas les Jésuites* resounded from one end of France to the other, and such is the danger of an odious ally, that because the monarchy was supported by the Jesuits—it was only necessary to support the monarchy

the moment most likely to receive its impressions, appeared the famous book of Abbé de la Roche Arnaut.

This young man, illustrious as a renegade from his order, revealed and invented facts which raised into a yell of indignation the long smothered murmurs of public opinion. Such was the fever of men's minds, such the horror and the anxiety excited among all classes by this remarkable production, that 50,000 copies were sold in a few days. The plans, the rules of the holy society, and the names of its members were unscrupulously unveiled. The colleges of Mont-Rouge (near Paris), of St. Achard (near Amiens), the two famous institutions charged with the education of the more pious and illustrious royalists, had their system exposed and their intentions explained.

France thought itself the victim of a religious conspiracy, of a second Popish plot. The Jesuits were suspected of every thing,

in order to be cried down as a Jesuit. But this was not all: the Jesuits and that party, which acted with the Jesuits, finding themselves thus hated and attacked, saw that there was no middle course to take—they had to conquer or be conquered; there was no alternative, then, between the ordonnances of Louis XV, and the ordonnances of Charles X.

and every body was suspected of being a Jesuit; nor, was it long before the government (then under M. de Martignac) finding it impossible to set the storm any longer at defiance, passed the edict, which, prohibiting all persons from belonging to a society unsanctioned by law, dissolved the different Jesuitic establishments. But the cry against the Jesuits was a cry against the clergy and its partisans in general, and I am sure I shall not be accused of exaggeration, when I say that the most influential part of the French nation, which, as we have seen, was rather favorable than hostile to the church in 1814, held it in a state of actual abhorrence and execration in 1830.

Strange to say, since the revolution which then took place—the revolution received with so much horror by the more pious catholics—the revolution which has admitted even Jews within the pale of state protection—since that fatal revolution, the faith which it was to have destroyed, has lost a great part of its unpopularity; and with the exception of one bacchanal and disgraceful disorder which if it insulted the cross, was excited by the *fleur-de-lis*—the doctrines of christianity have been extolled as a philosophy, and its ceremonies respected as a religion.

## CHAPTER VI.

Opinions of a country—Mistakes of Foreigners—Anecdote  
—State of Christianity in France at the present moment  
—Revenue of the French Clergy—Has Religion lost or  
gained by the Wealth of its Minister?—Rural Clergy in  
France—Ecclesiastical Statistics—Self-denial of a French  
Priest—Advantages derived from a poor Priesthood—  
Classes of the Catholic Clergy—The Abbé de la Mennais  
—Les Paroles d'un Croyant.

IN speaking of the opinions of a country, our first care should be to ascertain the ideas and sentiments of those who form what is called the public opinion in that country.

But even here it is easy for a foreigner to be mistaken.

An Englishman visiting Paris and seeing as much of the French as an Englishman in that situation generally does see, might be too apt to think that in Mr. Owen's romantic vision, coming events have indeed but briefly cast their shadows before them, and that he has only to stay out another carnival, in order

to behold Notre Dame and St. Geneviève converted into Gymnasia.

A French gentleman of some celebrity speaking to me the other day of a young and distinguished member of the House of Commons, said, and—he was speaking to a large audience : “ Mais il est un grand méthodiste n'est-ce pas?”—“ No; not that I know of,” I replied. “ Eh bien, je vous dirai ce qui m'est arrivé avec lui. We were talking of religion, I abused the catholic religion, your countryman, Sir, was particularly civil; ‘ Monsieur est donc protestant,’ he said. ‘ Non, monsieur, je ne suis pas protestant.’—‘ Vous n'êtes pas protestant, vous n'êtes pas catholique—est-ce que vous êtes mahométan ou juif.’—‘ Non; je ne suis ni protestant, ni catholique, ni mahométan, ni juif.’—‘ De quelle religion donc êtes-vous,’ continued the young Englishman. ‘ Monsieur, je suis de la religion de Socrate.’—‘ Eh bien ! voulez-vous le croire,’” exclaimed my French gentleman, “ votre membre des Communes en avait l'air tout choqué.”

Now this was said loud in a saloon where there were many persons, whom I happened to know where rigid and strict catholics, and yet no one seemed in the slightest degree annoyed at this public and unnecessary avowal

of deism on the part of the person who had been speaking so indecently.

In England we know that a person using such language would not only have excited the disgust, the just and decent disgust with which such an avowal of infidelity in a country—professing itself christian, ought to be received ; far beyond any disgust of this kind, the feeling excited would have been a sort of blood-curdling horror of superstitious abomination, which would have exaggerated into a ghost or vampire, a living mass of murder and impiety, the person who professed himself thus openly a pupil of Plato. It would therefore be very natural for an Englishman to suppose that the persons who listened quietly to Mr. —'s declaration, were in fact of his opinions.

But Mr. Stuart mentions several cases of a similar kind in the United States of America, where there is certainly as much christianity, and even as much christian fanaticism as in Great Britain ; yet, where no person thinks he has any right to abuse, and condemn a fellow citizen for having different convictions from his own, however atrocious he may deem those convictions.

This proceeds in both countries—in France and in America—from the general feeling of equality, which is established among all men ;

an equality which is so much a habit of life, as to become a habit of thought, and which has to a certain degree extended itself from rights to ideas.

But notwithstanding any isolated facts to the contrary, many of which must necessarily fall within the reach of a partial enquirer, I think the state of christianity in France may be thus fairly described, as it exists at the present moment.

## CHRISTIANS.

1. The south and west of France almost without exception.
2. The higher classes, (to use an expression familiar to the English reader,) i. e. the nobility, gentry, and the more rich *bourgeoisie*.
3. The rural population in general

## INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.

1. The great majority of the metropolitan population.
2. The men of science and letters ; the army.
3. The small *bourgeoisie* of the towns.

From this it would follow—

On the one hand :—

That the districts most distinct from France, in general, are :—CHRISTIAN.

That the classes most wealthy in France, are :—CHRISTIAN.

That that part of the population numerically the most important in France, is :—CHRISTIAN.

On the other hand :—That the spots in France most mixed up in French affairs, are :—INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY

That the classes most influential in French society, are: — **INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED to CHRISTIANITY.**

That that part of the population politically (electively and municipally,) the most important, is: — **INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.**

The national religion in France is considered to be the religion of the different influential sects in the nation ; and the state pays a salary to the minister of the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Jewish worship.

I give the first at three different epochs.

**SALARY CATHOLIC CLERGY.**

	1827.	1834.	1836.
	frs.	frs.	frs.
A Cardinal . . . . .	30,000	"	"
The Archbishop of Paris . . . .	100,000	40,000	25,000
Another Archbishop . . . .	25,000	15,000	
A Bishop . . . . .	15,000	10,000	
The Vicar General of Paris . .	4,000	4,000	
Another Vicar General . . . .	3,000	3,000	
A canon in Paris . . . . .	2,400	2,400	
A canon in other dioceses . .	1,500	1,500	
A cure (priest) of the first class	1,500	1,500	
— of the second . . . . .	1,100	1,100	
A Desservant (answers to our { from 900 from 1,000 } Curates in some degree.) { to 750 to 800 }			

The changes have been in diminishing the salaries of the higher and raising the salaries of the lower clergy. The '*casuel*' or fees from his parishoners double the Catholic priest's allowance.

The Protestant clergyman receives no '*cousuel*,' his allowance from the state varies from 3,000 to 1,000 francs, and may average about £60.

The grand Rabbin at Paris receives 6,000 francs — the other grand Rabbin 3000—the other Rabbins vary from 2,000 to 300 francs.

The Catholic religion has no longer any estates separate from its allowance. During the restoration, it was allowed to receive donations within a certain limit.

From 1820 to 1825—this was during the heat and fervor of the religious struggle I have described—the donations to the church doubled what they had been from 1815 to 1820—but let not political hypocrisy pass for religious zeal!

*There were five times as many ANONYMOUS donations to other charitable institutions.*

In an exposition of the rights, honours, pre-eminent and privileges of the ancient clergy of France, the author, a priest, and anxious to revive the ancient order of things, makes a comparison which, I believe, is a just one.

“The revenue of the ancient clergy of France,” he says, “amounted before the revolution to about 135 millions of francs, (about five millions and a half sterling.) The budget of this year, (he was writing in

1824, is 30 millions, 50 thousand francs. The difference between the two epochs being 105 MILLIONS.

"Then," he continues, "before the revolution, the clergy of France consisted of 412,419 individuals comprising the two sexes; now, alas! it hardly contains 40,000 priests and 36,000 pupils, in the different seminaries educating for the priesthood. This number of 40,000, is insufficient—it ought to be raised to 50,000," (if 50,000 are sufficient, how ridiculous the number of 412,419!) "while instead of 82,580 women devoted to the church, we have now but 19,000."

It would be unjust to dispute the facts of this holy writer; facts, indeed, which he subsequently establishes, clearly proving that the church was far more numerous and more wealthy as a body than it is:—but he never proves, nor deems it worth while to prove—that the church's piety was in any degree promoted by its numbers or possessions.

Compare, I say, the clergy of those times—when Dubois was cardinal, and St. Simon gives as a reason for admitting the Bishop of Troyes into the council of the regency, that he had lain with all the ladies of the court; compare the clergy of those times—when the spruce little abbé in his violet coat and brass buttons went

modestly to a *loge grillée* in the theatre, just to see the folks damning themselves, whom the church refused to bury; compare the clergy of those times—receiving their 135 millions of francs with the clergy who receive 30 millions at the present day—make this comparison, and say what you think religion has lost or gained by the wealth of her ministers!

When a man tells me that he wishes the church to be wealthy because he has a son who has taken orders—when a man tells me that he wishes bishops to have 30,000 a year because he has a brother, the college friend of the prime minister, who will certainly be a bishop—when a man tells me that he wishes clergymen to be *gentlemen* because he has a dandy nephew who is just the thing for a parson—I shake him heartily by the hand, and rejoice, for my part, that the state provides for so honest and frank-hearted a fellow. But, really, when your solemn-faced puppy, phrasaically remarks, that though many of his family are in the church, he, God knows! wishes to see the church wealthy for far other and higher considerations, that he wishes to see a church mingling with the aristocracy and endowed with large possessions, merely be-

cause he believes that an aristocratic and wealthy clergy best promote the interests of religion—when some sinful toady of the peerage demurely says this—such impudence, I confess, puts me out of countenance, and I have hardly sufficient presence of mind to reply:—“Look to the Catholic clergy of Ireland! look to the dissenters of England! look to the pious, and excellent, and exemplary body of men forming the clergy of France,—who constitute, without dispute, the most respectable part of French society, and who, if they want in some respects the intelligence of the times in which they live, have all the simplicity, and more than the virtue of a darker age!”

“ The priests here appear to be a very good and amiable sort of men. I always pull off my hat to any of them that I meet, and they always return the salutation with great politeness and humility.

“ They dress not only while at church, but at all times, in a long sort of coat gown, called a *soutane*, made of black cloth, and wear the old-fashioned cocked hat. You cannot mistake the priest in France for any other than he is. His devout manner, and the simple and sacred habiliment that he always appears in, make

you acquainted with his profession at once. This is not the case with the divines of our country. In the famishing curate we do, to be sure, very often see an example of piety and mildness—but the religious character of the *beneficed clergyman* is not at all times to be recognized in his manners and personal appearance: he, though quite as sincere, no doubt, as these meeker priests in France, is very often admired as the most venturesome rider in the fervor of the fox-chase, as being a good shot, or the best hand at a rubber of whist, etc.”

I quote from a little pamphlet which contains some interesting details.\* But to make a comparison such as that which its writer has made, is not my intention; because it is never just to judge one part of a society without considering it in all its relations with other parts of that society; what would be intolerable in the members of a profession in one country, might be perfectly harmless and unexceptionable in the members of that same profession in another country.

\* Mr. Cobbett, Jun.

I leave, therefore, my reader to his own conclusions—but I cannot leave him to those conclusions without saying, that the picture drawn by Mr. Cobbett of the rural clergy in France is, according to my experience, and I have mixed with many of them, correct.

The greater part of these holy men are peasants by birth, and frequently born in the village where they afterwards exercise their functions. Their habits then are simple, and they mix naturally with their followers, of whom they understand the wants, the habits and the language. They exercise a power—not so extensive as that of the Irish priests over their flocks—but a power, mild and conciliatory—and are usually beloved and respected by the villagers, at whose christenings they preside, whose marriages they arrange, and whose quarrels they compose.

To the presbytery the poor may go with the satisfaction that they will find a friend—a friend not entirely removed from their condition, and who can have no rivalry in their affairs; a friend willing to listen to their complaints, to give them counsel they understand, and to preach, with a mixture of brotherly tenderness and spiritual authority, that divine doctrine of humility and resignation which

finds, in spite of our vanity and ambition, a deep and holy echo in the human heart.\*

The following are the ecclesiastical statistics of the numbers of the Catholic clergy composing the twenty-four dioceses of the kingdom, drawn from authentic documents, year 1833.

<b>Titular.</b>	.	.	.	.	.	675
<b>Honorary.</b>	.	.	.	.	.	446
<b>Curates.</b>	.	.	.	.	.	3,241
<b>Assistants.</b>	.	.	.	.	.	24,517
<b>Vicars.</b>	.	.	.	.	.	6,989
<b>Chaplains</b>	.	.	.	.	.	449
<b>Almoners</b>	.	.	.	.	.	989
<b>Priests (supernumerary) authorised</b>						
to preach and confess.						439
						<hr/> 37,745
<b>Priests on duty, died 1833</b>						1,114
<b>Total, priests in active service.</b>						<hr/> 38,859

\* It is to be regretted, perhaps, that with the virtues which the country clergy of France possess, there are not united others, viz.: a greater elevation of views, more extended knowledge, and principles applying better to the affairs and conditions of the world. But with all their faults and deficiencies, these men form, as I have said, a class in which are found some of the most useful and honorable citizens of France. The clergy of

Number deficient for the service of dioceses. . . . .	11,732
Number of priests judged necessary by the bishops. . . . .	50,591
Priests employed whose age exceeds sixty years. . . . .	9,755
Priests, aged or infirm, not capable of duty. . . . .	1,870
	11,625

## ORDINATION DURING THE YEAR 1833.

Priests. . . . .	2,059
Deacons. . . . .	1,721
Under-Deacons. . . . .	1,681
	5,461

## ECCLESIASTICAL SCHOLARS.

Theology. . . . .	7,417
Philosophy. . . . .	2,162
In the secondary ecclesiastical schools. . . . .	13,826
	23,405

the towns are better informed, in general, than those of the country. They are paid better and are chosen from a class, a grade or two higher in society; but they possess neither the same virtues, nor do they obtain the same respect.

By this statement it would appear, as well from the number of priests required for the service, as from the decrease which (in 1824 was 36,000) of the students educating for the priesthood, that there is a certain difficulty at the present time in maintaining the ranks of that very respectable body, to whose virtues I should be ashamed not to render justice. But let us not at once suppose that this is owing to the smallness of the salary which the clergy receive—a salary wholly sufficient for their simple wants, and, as they are taken, for the most part, from parents poorer than themselves, more than they are accustomed to, or, had they remained among the laity, would have received.

It has become more difficult to fill up the ranks of the priesthood, not because the pecuniary rewards of the church are insufficient, if pecuniary rewards could alone suffice, but because pecuniary rewards cannot alone suffice when they have to counterpoise all the tastes and affections, and habits of the human heart.

You tell me that the church was crowded when it had rich benefices and bishoprics at its disposition,—ay;—but had it only rich benefices and bishoprics? Had it not also

pomp, power, place, all that corrupts and gratifies our nature ? Were not its favours courted, and its vices forgiven ? What difficulty was there in renouncing the world, when you thereby gained what was most valued in the world ? Do you think that the most holy of the martyrs themselves were insensible to the glory that awaited them in front of the lion ?

To be a French priest at present—what do you receive, and what do you renounce ? You receive a moderate, but honourable subsistence, perfectly sufficient for all the wants which are necessary to, or indeed compatible with, your calling. But you renounce the honours of a literary or military career ; you must turn aside from all that animates and vivifies your nation. You must for ever abandon the passion of the peasant, whose toil you have escaped, but from whose desire—desire becoming every day more ardent, you cannot from every early recollection and daily habit be entirely free. You must abandon the hope of having a little spot of ground, which shall become a field, perchance a farm, under your care and economy ;—a field or a farm, which would be your own.

Nor is this all ;—out from the innermost

depths of your heart you must pluck the soft and gentle passion, which has not only been given you by nature, but which the society in which you live brings in every varied reflection before your eyes.

To be priest you must neither be dramatist, nor warrior, nor proprietor, nor lover, nor husband, nor father ;—you must renounce all these titles so precious in a nation at once affectionate and vain ;—and this without any of those gratifications which have mingled with the religion and the religious enthusiasm of the best and wisest of men. No one shall call you saint, or worship you as prophet ; no one shall mingle with your person any of that mysterious divinity which of old mantled the ministers of God.

You shall be loved and respected ; but you shall be loved and respected as a man ;—you shall be loved and respected, but you shall be loved and respected as a member of society ;—and you have foresworn the pleasures of a man, you have placed beyond the tomb the pleasures of society ; *you have made the sacrifice of religious enthusiasm amidst the empire of religious indifference.*

Let me proclaim boldly, that a poor priesthood has always been, and always must be a

zealous and devoted one. But let us not confound events ; let us not imagine that it is the same cause which always produces the same effect, or that poverty and purity, which are frequently the sign of a religion on its rise, may not sometimes denote its decline.

The ministry of a rising religion, not merely animated by the vulgar motive of procuring a revenue by their virtue—on which virtue nevertheless their revenue solely depends—not merely stimulated by this vulgar motive however, the members of a rising religion have their souls filled and satisfied by a nobler and more exquisite gratification—a gratification the highest of which humanity is capable, proceeding from the adoration, the worship of their disciples. Here is an impulse given to their energy, here is a reward held before their eyes,—an impulse which no government can give—a reward which no benefice can supply.

But reverse the medal ;—behold not a religion rising, but a religion falling !—its revenues have been diminished ; we may disguise the cause, but the cause will really have been some diminution of our religious zeal. Then what follows ?—The same sentiment which has diminished the emoluments of the church, scrutinizes and watches over its conduct ; for the

very reason that the clergy are worse paid, they are obliged to be more active, more pure. They are placed in the middle of a crowd, who no longer superstitiously embrace their feet, but who look them intelligently in the face.

The clergy of that fallen religion will thus become more pure as they are worse paid, and as they are worse paid, they will diminish ; but they will diminish not because they are worse paid, but because the same cause which diminishes their pay, exacts from them all the purity of their creed, but accords to them none of the honors of its apostles.

I depart then from the vulgar cry that it is only necessary for a priesthood to be poor and pure, for its doctrines to succeed. But if a church *may* be pure and righteous after its fashion, and yet decay and perish, I defy you to shew me in all history, past and present, the example of a church, which has not been corrupted by its wealth, which has not fallen or which is not falling, crushed by the weight of its possessions :—and the catholic church of France—that church which, reformed as it is, cannot support itself, may date its destiny in times remote from these, when rising from its riches, amidst all the pomp and vanities of the world, was first seen the cloud that now glooms over its altars.

I have stated the revenue, the numbers, the qualities of the catholic priesthood. I now come to their divisions and distinctions.

The catholic clergy of France may be said to be divided into three classes ; for the late revolution, to which all have submitted, can hardly be said to have produced another.

1. The '*Clergé assermenté*,' i. e. the clergy still remaining who took the oath of the constitution of 1789 ; who are necessarily few at the present time.

2. The Gallican clergy, the body the most numerous.

3. The *clergé ultra-montain*, the sect now most popular and fashionable.\*

Among the most celebrated of the ultra-montainists, distinguished for his eloquence, his zeal, and his "Essay on Indifference," is the Abbé de la Mennais.

"I was sitting one day," said a friend of mine to me, in the bureau of the '*Avenir*,' (a religious journal) "waiting for one of the editors of that paper, when a little man came in and sat himself shiveringly down before the small fire, from which I was endeavouring, in no very happy mood, to extract some kind of consolation. Small, plain, and ill-dressed, with

\* See Appendix under head of Religion.

large green spectacles, and an immense nose, timid, awkward, there was nothing at first sight very interesting either in the manner or the appearance of my acquaintance. I spoke, however ; he spoke ; and in speaking his air became more firm and decided—his features assumed a new cast—his eye lit up—thought, suffering, compressed passion were visible in his countenance—and his whole person swelled out as it were, into more spiritual and imposing proportions. ‘ Monsieur l’Abbé !’ said my friend, entering just at the moment that my eye was fixed on a print opposite. The print was that of the Abbé de la Mennais,—the person I had been talking to was the Abbé de la Mennais himself.”

At St. Malo, in Brittany in 1782, of a family in the middle classes in life, (merchants fitting out ships,) was born Félicité Robert de la Mennais. His early years were spent in the house of an uncle, who lived a retired country life, in the midst of a large library, to which the young student had frequent recourse. Every style of composition, poetry, prose, plays, history, religious tracts were all, at this time, devoured with an equal literary avidity.

At the age of the passions, however, books were laid aside ; and for some years the follies

of an ardent temperament preceded the pieties of repentance.

At last, this eloquent man appeared—the priest of the restoration; supposed by some a proselyte from divine grace, by others a hypocrite from worldly ambition, but acknowledged by all to possess singular ability.

If I have paused thus long on the portrait of M. de la Mennais, it is not because this person was the former champion of the Pope, but because within a few months from the period at which I am writing, he has endeavoured to give christianity new doctrines, to breathe into catholicism a new spirit, to fashion it, according to the ideas of his epoch, into a new form, to raise up a democratic religion full of energy, and life and passion, in face of the spectral majesty of mitred Rome.

Never was work so popular as that pamphlet called "*les Paroles d'un Croyant*,"\*—never was work so popular in France,—and why? M. de la Mennais has wished to make the catholic religion in France what he has found society in France. He has wished to nourish it with that sap which has insinuated itself into every

\* It is impossible to give any idea of the literary art and eloquence of their production but by a reference to it.

other feeling, opinion, and institution. He has wished to give that spirit of equality to his creed which he has found every where, but which springs whence?—from an equality of position connected, in a great degree, with an equality of possessions.

The religion which once taught obedience to the magnates of the earth has endeavoured to accommodate itself to the laws which have banished from France these magnates, and we find a catholic minister flaunting a republican flag before the eyes of a church, the high priest of which is, at this moment, supported by the bayonets of kings.

Some christians may blame the attempt !  
Let all turn their faces from its execution !

“ And I was transported in spirit into the ancient time ; and the earth was beautiful, rich, and fertile ; and its inhabitants lived happily, because they lived as brothers.

“ And I saw the serpent glide in amongst them ; he fixed on many his powerful eye, and their soul was troubled, and they approached one another, and the serpent whispered into their ear.

“ And the sun paled, and the earth took a funereal hue, as that of the winding sheet which envelopes the dead.

“ There was heard a deep murmur, a longer plaint, and every one trembled in his heart.

“ In truth, I do say unto you, it was as the day on which the abyss broke down its barriers, and the wide waters of the deluge burst forth.

“ And fear went from cabin to cabin—for as yet there were no palaces,—and she said to each those secret things that make the blood run cold.

“ And they who had said, ‘ we are kings,’ took up a sword and followed her from cabin to cabin.

“ And there there passed strange mysteries : there were chains, and weeping, and blood.

“ And men were terrified, and cried ‘ Murder has appeared in the world,’ and this was all :—for fear had palsied their soul, and taken the movement from their arm.

“ And they allowed themselves to be charged with irons, they, and their wives, and their children. And the men who said, ‘ We are kings,’ hollowed out as it were, a vast cavern, and entombed all the human race therein, as animals are bound up in their stalls.

“ And the winds drove the clouds before them, and I heard a voice, amidst the thunder, that said ‘ The serpent has vanquished again, but not for ever.’

“ After that, I heard nothing but confused voices, and laughs, and sobs, and blasphemies.

“ And I understood that Satan was to reign before God; and I wept, and I hoped.

“ And the vision that I saw was true ; for the reign of Satan is accomplished also ; and those who said, ‘ we are kings,’ shall, in their turn, be inclosed in the cavern with the serpent, and the human race shall come forth therefrom, and to that race it shall be as another birth, as a passage from death to life ;—so be it !”

Far be it from me to applaud the wild reveries and the mystic imaginings of M. de la Mennais,—execrated here as an apostate, worshipped there as an apostle! Let it be for those who lick the feet of royal authority one day, to rant forth all the wildest ravings, to administer to all the most ignorant desires and darkest passions of democracy the next!

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## A VISION.

1. There was a vast plain—a plain such as that which modern seers have seen of late days in their dreams.
2. And around this plain were seven high thrones, and around the thrones stood the great and powerful of the earth.
3. And by them were placed vast urns, containing all those beautiful and lustful things which have been called “the vanities of the world.”
4. And, ever and anon, the figures placed on these thrones, holding swords in their hands, and wearing crowns on their heads, took from the vases, and gave to such as stood by.

5. And many pressed towards the thrones to share in the gifts.

6. And in the middle of the plain might be heard a deep but stifled murmur coming from the crowd, which said, "there should be a change in all this."

7. And by one of the thrones you might have seen a little man with a bright eye, who carried his head upon his shoulder, as if it had been the sacrament, and who, in walking, lifted up his feet high in the air.

8. And he cried unto such of the crowd as were near him, "Why do ye murmur?"

9. And the crowd said, "We murmur because there are guards who keep us from yonder thrones, where our cries ought to be heard."

10. And the little man said, "Those guards are Caesar's," and the Lord said, 'Let there be unto Cæsar his guards.'—"Why do ye murmur?"

11. And the crowd said, "The monarchs on yonder thrones say they are our masters, and we wish to tell them how they may rule over us, and make us happy."

12. And the little man said, "Cover your face, and stifle your voice; for the Lord has said your happiness is not of this world, and

you must obey blindly those whom God, even your God, hath set over you."

13. And lo ! and behold the sky was suddenly darkened, and you heard the flap of the tempest's wings.

14. And when the sun came again, six of the thrones still rocked and shook, and there was fear in the face of the legions who guarded them with spear and with shield.

15. And the seventh throne, the throne near which the little man had been standing, was tumbled down, utterly down, and all its guards and all its parasites were gone.

16. But where this throne had stood there was another throne, and this throne the people approached.

17. And the king who sat on the new throne held in his hand an olive branch, as the king on the old throne had held a sword ; but the people were nearer the new king and the new throne than they had been to the old king and the old throne ; and kings and thrones are seen to most advantage afar off.

18. So the people began to murmur even louder than before, and lifting up their voices on high, they said :

19. " The Lord destroyed one throne by the

tempest, and man has built up another ; shall we not destroy that also ?”

20. And, strange to conceive, the little man who would not let the people approach unto the old throne, because it was Cæsar’s, now cried out and said :

21. “ People, the Lord hath hurled down one throne ;—blessed be the Lord !—

22. “ People ! the thrones which you now see are the thrones of Cæsar ; and the Lord said, ‘ Hurl down the thrones of Cæsar.’—Blessed be the Lord !”

23. And the people who had formerly called the little man a fool, now called the little man a prophet.

24. And from the vases which had been overturned they took out large handsfull, not of gold or of silver, or of precious stones, but of pœans, and hymns, and praises, and they showered them on the head of the little man.

25. And the little man, gorgeous with the vanities of the world, cried out and said :

“ I am the man of God.”

# PROTESTANTISM.

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## CHAPTER VII.

The French Protestants—Protestant Population—Payment of the State to the Protestant Religion—“Institution of Public Utility”—Protestant Churches—The Calvinist Church—Nomination of the Clergy—Attention to the Poor—The Lutheran Church—Mixed Marriages—Education—Protestant Dissenters—Annual Conferences—Catholic and Protestant Pastors.\*

THE French protestants are called calvinists and lutherans;† but the calvinists profess few of the doctrines of Calvin, and the lutherans, few of the doctrines of Luther.

The confession of faith belonging to the old French reformed church, has lost its force,‡

\* I beg to acknowledge my obligation to the eloquent and excellent Mr. Cockerell for most of the facts which this chapter contains.

† The lutherans are chiefly in Alsace—the calvinists scattered throughout France.

‡ Not more than ten priests, says Mr. Cockerell, would be found to sign it.

and no promise or profession as to his dogmas is exacted from the minister, on ordination. So little difference, indeed, divides the different protestant communities, that it is generally wished to sink all differences in the common title, adopted in Germany of "Evangelic;" and although different administrative differences interfere at present with such a union, it is not unusual to see lutherans preach from calvinist, and calvinist from lutheran pulpits. Instances, indeed exist of what are called "*Eglises mixtes*," where one pastor presides over the two communions, while the holy table is alternately served with bread and with the wafer.

#### POPULATION.

The protestants may be reckoned at something more than a million, though that is the figure officially given, and there are many reasons to suppose they are on the increase; but though hanged in reality in 1762, and in effigy in 1767—persecution has not produced all its legitimate effects, and they are still less numerous than at the edict of Nantes.

#### SALARY AND STATE SUPPORT.

The payment of the state to the protestant religion is always voted without opposition.

The salary is 12 or 1500, or 2000 francs, according to the population of the clergyman's residence ; at Paris 3000 francs are given.

Beyond this, there is no legal demand for any function which the priest is called upon to perform : all acts and extracts from the consistorial register are delivered also free of expense.

The body of the religious edifice is maintained by the state, but the service is defrayed, sometimes by funds belonging to a particular church, and derived from legacy ; more generally by subscriptions.

A parsonage or presbytery is usually found in the rural districts by the commune. In the great towns, the department or the town commonly votes an allowance for lodging, and an additional subsidy, amounting to about the same sum, is accorded by the budget.

There is no retiring pension specially allotted for the priest, prevented by sickness or old age from continuing his duties, but in such case he is allowed to have a "suffragant,"\* who is sometimes paid by himself, sometimes by the consistory, and sometimes, though not frequently, by the state.

There exists at Bordeaux a society of clergy-

\* What we should call curate or assistant.

men engaged to afford mutual succour to the widows and orphans of the church, and since the revolution of July it has been allowed, by the title of "Institution of Public Utility," to receive legacies.

#### CHURCHES.

The churches are furnished either by the government, or the towns and communes, or by the religious communities themselves, in which case a certain allowance is given them by the state or department.\*

But the greatest number of congregations want a place of worship; offering up their prayers in the open air, or in some barn or grange according to the season.

*No where are the seats let*; every place is open to the first occupant.

In many places the protestant was formerly a catholic church, now given up by the towns as no longer useful to its original possessors.

*L'Oratoire* at Paris is one of these, and was granted to the protestants in lieu of St. Thomas du Louvre; pulled down in order to enlarge the "Place du Carrousel."

The sacrifice was a great one; for the government had used this church (*l'Oratoire*) as a

\* They are sometimes hired—sometimes lent.

place of deposit for the decorations of the opera!

There are a few, and a very few places in Alsace, where, as in many parts of Prussia, the same building is consecrated to the catholic and protestant service; but this would be altogether impossible in the greatest part of France.

#### DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CALVINIST CHURCH.

The Calvinist church is divided into consistorial churches and sections.

The consistorial church has a *chef-lieu*, where sit *les anciens*, or elders, who, with the pastors, form a consistory.

The president of the consistory is always the oldest of the pastors in the consistorial circumscription.

The sections are churches at a certain distance from the *chef-lieu*.

The law has only authorized provincial synods composed of deputies from a certain number of consistories, and has not re-established the ancient general synod of the French reformed church. But even the provincial synods have never yet assembled.

From this it results that the Calvinist church

in France has neither centre nor head, and that every consistory is absolute and independent in itself.

In the rural districts, however, the different pastors live so far apart from one another, that even a consistory is rarely formed, and of course in these cases the pastors themselves are responsible to no superior authority.

The sections have sometimes a sort of subordinate consistory of their own ; not recognised by the law, but established among themselves ; the persons forming them, now under the title of elders, now under that of deacons, belong to the central and official consistory.\*

#### NOMINATION.

The clergy are named by the consistories, on an absolute majority of votes taken by ballot, and the nomination is afterwards confirmed by the king. But in the important sections the consistory of the sections designates a choice to the general or official consistory.

#### ATTENTION TO THE POOR.

In the principal districts there is besides the consistory, a body under it, more or less nu-

\* The practice of these regulations depends necessarily upon the locality to which they are submitted.

merous, as it may happen, and composed of deacons (*diacres*), and presided by pastors, who exclusively occupy themselves with the poor.

This body (*diacorat*) in Paris consists of forty or fifty, and contains five or six physicians.

The administration of the institution is excellent. A general meeting takes place every month, and a committee every week. The pastors preside the two meetings.

In the committee, the poor are received, questioned, and relieved; but unless they are well known, no relief is given until a domiciliary visit has taken place.

#### DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The organization of that part of the protestant church, professing the confession of Augsbourg, is a little different from that of the Calvinists which I have been describing.

It has—

1. A general consistory,
2. A directory,
3. An inspection,
4. A consistory.

The general consistory has little more than a nominative and formal authority. The directory alone has a real authority; which, however, is sometimes but rarely opposed by the consistories and the pastors.

There exists more order and regularity in the arrangements of the Lutheran; more independence in the arrangements of the Calvinist community; while the advantages attached to the followers of Luther are partly caused, and partly increased, by that body being less disseminated through the country.

Among the calvinists, on the contrary, it is usual to find one pastor preaching in five or six churches, at a distance of some leagues from each other, so that each church has a sermon but once in five or six weeks by the clergyman; on the other weeks it is read by (the *lecteur chantre*) the clerk.

In Saintonge there are 45,000 protestants who have only ten pastors; and the pastor of Arras has a community which extends over seventy-five communes.

#### PRAYER BOOK.

The prayer book in use with the calvinists,

or reformed church, is that of Geneva, reprinted with some few new prayers.

The lutherans have their own prayer books.

#### SACRAMENT.

The sacrament is celebrated four times a year: at Christmas, at Easter, at Pentecost, and the last Sunday in September or the first in October.

In the villages and small churches every protestant assists at the communion. In great towns, attendance on these solemn occasions is rare: still, it is to be observed, that the practice has of late become more frequent, and last Easter there were as many as 2,500 persons (lutherans and calvinists) who partook of the sacrament in Paris.\*

#### BAPTISM.

Baptism is usual at quitting the church after service, but is also performed at any day or hour in the week, at the request of parents. It must be, however, always in the church, except in cases of severe illness.

The family may name a godfather or god-

\* It is very rare for persons sick or dying to receive it in their own houses.

mother, as they think proper, and no difficulty is made as to such persons being catholics.

#### MARRIAGES.

Mixed marriages are very rare in the country; more common, though still rare, in the great towns, but frequent in Paris—where three-fourths of the protestant marriages are of this description.

Strange to say—

When the husband is a catholic and the wife a protestant, every preference in the choice of that religion, which shall consecrate the civil contract, and which shall govern the children's lives, is given to the protestant church.

But when the husband is a protestant and the wife a catholic the contrary takes place.

The system of giving the sons the religion of the father, and the daughters the religion of the mother, is sometimes practised, but more generally renounced, and it is considered best to have but one religion in the family.

It may be observed, that the protestants are in general, whether male or female, more fervid in their faith than the catholics, and more marriages, therefore, take place between a catholic husband and a protestant wife, as consistent with the forms I have remarked, than be-

tween a protestant husband and a catholic wife.

#### EDUCATION.

In respect to education, the protestants complain of the effects of the law proposed by M. Guizot, (a protestant,) because the protestant schools have been absorbed in the communal schools, which, taken from the schools of the majority, are now paid and supported by the public. I confess that, to me, these complaints appear perfectly unjust; wherever there is a protestant minister he forms one of the council; nor is there any religious instruction given in such schools at all affecting the tenets of the scholars.

#### DISSENTERS.

France has her protestant dissenters, ana-baptists, and methodists, as well as England.

But the protestant dissenters have neither the wealth, the numbers, nor the intelligence, of that large class amongst ourselves, who indeed only found their way to the continent after the peace of 1814.

Ever since that time, however, they have made great progress, and, with the zeal for which they are elsewhere remarkable, propagated their

chapels of ease, which frequently stand side by side with the protestant churches, throughout most of the provinces ; making continual proselytes, especially among the women.

Their doctrines are those of the Athanasian creed, containing a belief in the supremacy of faith over works, and a literal construction of divine inspiration.

Some few clergymen of the protestant reformed establishment are said to lean towards these principles ; but as the methodists contend for a separation of church and state, and the clergymen of the protestant establishment receive very unscrupulously a salary from the state, it is to be presumed that the differences of a spiritual nature, which exist, are not less powerful than this difference of a more temporal description.

The methodists have two societies : one called *La Société Evangélique*, the object of which is “to spread christianity through the world by every means which God has placed at their disposition ;” the other, called *La Société Biblique*, which sells to all persons, (except those of the national protestant church,) bibles 50 per cent. cheaper than they can purchase elsewhere.

There are in Paris—Swiss, American, and English, as well as French methodist chapels,

where the sacrament is now (this was not the case two or three years ago) delivered.

## CONFERENCES.

Mr. Cockerell, in 1833, as well for the purpose of introducing unity into the national church as for remedying any grievances that affect it, proposed annual conferences at Paris, which have been acceded to by the lutheran and calvinist clergy; and, as the circular in which these assemblies were announced is rare and interesting, I subjoin it.

“ Les pasteurs et députés des Eglises, présents à Paris, pour les séances des sociétés religieuses, et réunis en conférence fraternelle le mercredi 24 Avril, 1833, dans la salle du consistoire du Temple de l'Oratoire, sont unanimement convenus :—

“ 1. Que dorénavant, chaque année, le jour de l'assemblée générale de la société biblique, à neuf heures du matin, les pasteurs-adjoints, et pasteurs suffragants des églises nationales des deux communions évangéliques, et les députés laïques de ces églises, se réuniront en conférence fraternelle.

“ 2. Que ces conférences s'ouvriront par une prière solennelle.

“ 3. Que la séance continuera sous la présidence du doyen d'âge des pasteurs par la nomination, au scrutin secret, d'un président et d'un secrétaire qui entreront immédiatement en fonctions.

“ 4. Que ces séances reprendront tous les jours à la même heure.

“ 5. Que le procès verbal ou le résumé des conférences, sera lithographié ou imprimé et envoyé à toutes les églises et à tous les pasteurs en France.

“ 6. Que les pasteurs des deux églises de Paris formeront un comité qui entrera en correspondance avec les consistoires et les pasteurs, leur donnera information de la présente résolution et préparera, autant que possible, le travail et les objets à mettre en délibération.”

It cannot but be interesting for us protestants, now meditating a reform in our establishment, to cast a retrospective glance over the pages I have just concluded.

In the discussion of the Irish church, Mr. D. Damer stated the whole income of the catholic priesthood in France at the amount given in the budget, supposing that the revenue of that body was solely confined to the contributions of the state ; whereas the *casuel*, or fees and donations, usually double the catholic priest's allowance.

Not so, however, with the protestant pastor. His salary—and he is married—is not above £60 a year. On this he contrives to render himself, his family, and his religion, beloved and respected ; nor do I know of a protestant clergyman in France who might not almost be cited as a model of learning, industry, and hu-

mility, to the rest of his brethren throughout Europe.

We neither find him a libertine in one parish, nor a fanatic in the other. Sedulous in the maintenance and propagation of his own faith, he does not predict the fall of his country because an equal aid and protection is afforded to the religion of his catholic fellow-citizen.

In the organization of his church he is not subjected to the dominion of a religious hierarchy, named by court favour; the rule over him is that of the elders of his faith, consecrated by age and a long character of piety for their sacred office. Neither is he alien to the flock whose spiritual guidance he undertakes.

Paid by the state, but chosen by the congregation, he is the faithful subject of the one, and the beloved guide and father of the other.

He does not receive a splendid income in order that his duty should be performed, by another, for a beggarly stipend; and, instead of disputing the *quarta pars* with the pauper, he contrives, out of his pinching income, to provide for the wants of charity, and to dedicate part of his time to the administration of the poor.

In short, the protestant French clergyman resembles the protestant English curate, and

would be worthy ten times what he receives, if the honor, in which he is held by his humble followers, did not almost as much proceed from his contempt of the wealth of this world, as from his pious covetousness after the riches of another.

## NEW PHILOSOPHIES.

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### CHAPTER VIII.

The Trial of Enfantin—The Creed of the St. Simonians—Picturesque Apostle—Life and Doctrine of St. Simon himself—Comparison between St. Simon and his followers—Enfantin's departure for the East.

ON the 8th of April, 1833, “the Father Enfantin” and Michel Chevalier were brought to the bar.

The first appeared remarkable for the elegance of his costume, and the gravity of his countenance.

Over his shoulders was thrown a rich velvet mantle, fringed with ermine; boots of a singular and graceful shape covered his leg as far as the knee; a beautiful cachemire twisted round

his neck, fell over his breast ; and his long beard *was* arranged with the sacred care that should preside over the toilet of an apostle.

And lo ! upon his fantastic followers,\* polished and brilliant, glitters the mysterious collar, formed of steel, and composed of rings, triangular, oval or round, according to the ideas of the wearer; for each ring is a token and a sign ; —and in the midst of such strange cabala shines the spheric symbol, representing the Father, inscribed—

#### TO THE MOTHER.†

Such is the description of one of those singular spectacles which took place in Paris during the years 1832, 1833, at which period figured a set of men, not such fools as in England they were supposed to be, not such philosophers as they ridiculously described them-

\* As for Michel Chevalier, he *was* shaved and dressed like a plain Parisian.

† Un autre signe brille au milieu de plusieurs autres—c'est celui qui représente le Père Enfantin. Ce signe est d'une demi-sphère, dont la face porte ces mots gravés en relief :

A LA MÈRE.

selves to be. These visionaries preached a religion peculiarly adapted, as they dreamt, to their country and their time, but which was, in fact, opposed to all the deep seated and eternal principles which in every time and in every country are at the head, and at the root, and in the vigor, and in the mystery of human nature.

It was in the year previous to the trial I have quoted from, that the law first took notice of these theatrical Theosophists.

“ It is some time,” said the advocate-general, in opening his case, “ since there has been formed at Paris a sect calling itself St. Simonian. Its chiefs have announced the intention to create a new religion, and to change the first principles on which society now reposes.\*

\* I continue the procureur général’s act of accusation in a note, since it explains the views of the Government in respect to the persons in question.

According to them property is an evil which it has become a duty to extirpate—a privilege which should disappear as slavery, serfship, and feudal rights have disappeared before it.

Property is no longer to follow the course of descent, from father to son, but to be held in common, and distributed to each individual according to his merit. The sovereign distributors of all wealth are to be the minis-

The grounds of accusation against Enfantin, the father of this sect, and his disciples were :

ters of this new worship—a very comfortable, though mayhap a very disinterested office, let me meekly observe, in any community.

The superiority which, according to existing laws, the male exercises over the female in certain cases is according to the St. Simonians another abuse to which it is equally necessary to put an end.

Hence new precepts in respect to marriage, divorce, and the different relations between man and woman.

In order to publish these doctrines and gain proselytes to their opinions, this new sect have printed pamphlets, bought and conducted at their expense the newspaper called the *Globe*, and established correspondences in every part of France, and in the different parts of Europe.

At Paris rooms have been opened where they have taught and preached.

It is in expectation of the time when this religion is to become universally predominant, and its ministers, the depositaries and the dispensators of the world's riches that Bartholemey Prosper Enfantin, calling himself supreme chief of the St. Simonian religion, and Olivier Rodrigues, styled chief of this same creed have made an appeal for funds to the public.

“ Bring to St. Simon,” have they said in their writings, “ bring to him, who lays a moral foundation for the power of wealth, a part of your wealth, whether it be under the title of loan or gift as may accord with your strength and love. I shall receive all with pleasure,

1st. The forming an illegal association.

2nd. The fraudulently attempting to mislead

and account for it with honor." And, on this demand, sums were given and lent by different persons, and received without any formality or legal authorisation by the chiefs of the St. Simonian faith.

Moreover, an act of association has been drawn up, by which all those who enter into this society are declared to associate themselves, whether collectively or as a body ; and to bring, as to a common stock, any goods that they are, or may be possessed of. This body has indeed proceeded so far as to announce the creation of a stock, of which inscriptions have been sold ; and it is calculated that nearly 300,000 francs (£12,000) has already passed into their hands.

A complaint has been made by a widow named Robinet (formerly the wife) of a notary at Meaux. This lady therein declares that her husband, being ill, was surrounded by the St. Simonians ; that they persuaded him to be transported to a house belonging to their association—that they severed him from all the members of his family, and that thus profiting by his state of illness, abandonment and obedience, they determined him to make a will appointing one of the St. Simonian chiefs his universal legatee ; in proof of which the widow Robinet gave into court her husband's will, in which Prosper Enfantin was appointed to the office above named.

Enfantin acknowledged having no other acquaintance with Robinet than that which arose from his being at the head of the St. Simonian religion ; and confessed to his having attended Robinet, in his last moments, as

the public in regard to their enterprise ; and thereby obtaining money under false pretences.

3rd. The fraudulently obtaining a testamentary disposition.

4th. Offences against public morals arising from the tenor of the works professing to explain their doctrines.

The verdict was guilty, and the sentence accompanying it twelve months' imprisonment.

It would be easy to shew, that if a gentleman was bent upon enriching himself at the expense of his neighbours, he would not, in the position assumed by Enfantin, find himself in a situation foreign to his acquisitive dispositions.

Guardian of the purse of all true believers, sole judge of merit, sole rewarder of it, and *ex officio*, the most meritorious of his tribe, I can conceive no situation that would have been more congenial to honest Jonathan Wild, than that of High Priest of the St. Simonians, as long as St. Simonians there were—ready to subscribe to the common fund—and to be paid

head and minister of that faith ; contending merely that Robinet was transported by his own desire to the establishment where he had died, and that the disposition of his property had arisen from no unjustifiable means of persuasion.

according to their deserts by the father of the faith.

Let us confess more! nothing was so likely as, for a superficial observer of mankind, to imagine that the doctrines set forth in the Enfantinian prayer-book were well calculated to catch disciples and thereby obtain the management of their resources.

The main difference between the creed of the philosophers of Menilmontant, and that which we revere as Christians was the different duty inculcated in respect to the flesh. Mortify it, said Jesus :—Consult it, and indulge it, said the mountain's gracious and agreeable apostles.

It is easy to systematize the most fanciful theories ; and these preachers of strange things had regularized theirs into chronological divisions.

“ Every step that humanity takes,” said Michel Chevalier, in his exposition of St. Simonism, “ is a progress.”

“ Progress is the passage from an old state of things to a new state of things by the destruction of the old.

“ Progress has always taken place by two alternate movements : the movement of construction and association, or the epoch organic

and religious; the movement of destruction and dissociation, or the epoch critical and irreligious.

“ It is thus that humanity, advancing step by step, from a system primitive and incomplete, has arrived at a system definitive and complete.”

“ *This complete system,*” (I quote from M.M. Chevalier) is that of the St. Simonians.

Life, say these gentlemen, has two aspects, distinct yet united—an aspect material—an aspect spiritual. The destiny of humanity is to develope these two faces of its existence.

First one, then the other, then both together.

In the primeval æra of the world, and down to the time of our Lord, the material aspect ruled: matter then was the organic principle—spiritualism the critical principle.

The religion of Christ established spiritualism as the organic principle ;—matter then became the critical principle ; and matter, as represented by Descartes and Voltaire, triumphed over spiritualism represented by the church.

Such was the state of things up to the time of St. Simon ; who was destined to unite the two principles into ONE, capable of comprehending both.

This is the last phase of society, the epoch of general association : the epoch which shall unite materialism and immaterialism, and put an end to the long contest between the flesh and the spirit.

At this epoch it becomes a duty as much to decorate the person as to ornate the mind ; as much to gratify the senses, as to elevate the soul.

Happy and delightful period ! when the sage shall retire to meditate with equal fervor on the flow of a garment, or the force of an opinion—when society shall be assorted according to its capacities, and every member of it pleased according to his passions !

I still remember being seated one morning, with a lady of my acquaintance, when the door suddenly opened, and a young man with a long beard and a bare neck, and a little kind of petticoat on, tramped into the room at much the same kind of pace that children use in playing at soldiers.

This was the first genuine St. Simonian I had seen, and I sat in quiet curiosity as to what was to happen.

The young gentleman was an apostle, and, as one of the best looking among his brethren, sent by the Father Enfantin to convert my

pretty acquaintance. The object of the visit made it still more interesting to me.

The apostle sat down, and put himself as much as possible in the position of a man who is sitting for his picture.

“Sir,” said the lady, “I have read most of your pamphlets; they are very well written.—I have seen your high priest, he is a very fine looking man. I have little property to lose, and people tell me I have considerable talent. We agree then, entirely, as to every one resigning his property and being paid according to his capacity; there are only one or two little matters on which I wish to acquire further information.

“I hear that we are to have no husbands; that we are to feel no affection for our children; and that, in order to destroy houses of ill-fame, a most laudable project, you intend to make every one fit to go into them.”

“Madam, permit me! I will explain to you our doctrine. We consider families, as you rightly observe, to be an antiquated invention; all parental affection will cease as soon as you establish a more free and more promiscuous intercourse between the sexes. Mothers will not know the fathers of their children; children will not know their own progenitors, and from

this happy incertitude will arise a general affection—for what man will know whether his enemy is not his own son or his own father?

“ But do not mistake us—we do not forbid constancy, we only do not preach it. If you, madam, are of a constant nature, you will only go on changing till you find a gentleman of a constant nature also.

“ Different people have different constitutions. The business of the Father is to assort his disciples together, to suit their connexion to their disposition. Some men can be constant for a year ;—the man that can be constant for a year, should be united to the woman, if such a woman is to be found, who can be so long constant. There should be marriages for months, weeks, and days, and then people would go on happily for the months, weeks, and days that they cohabited together.

“ But children, when not accepted by society, are a tie upon the roving dispositions—that is, upon the natural pleasures of the parents. This is a crucifixion of the flesh ; a cruelty and a slavery inconsistent with the age of intelligence and gratification in which we live. We say to parents then—‘ the community shall have charge of your children.’

“ Such are our ideas, madam, ideas so sim-

ple, so natural, so excellent, so moral, that it always surprises me when any one can be found to differ from them. Such are our ideas: but ideas of the man are after all but precur-sory in respect to the woman. She, the woman, will herself shortly appear. Madam, you are very beautiful and charming—why will you not be the woman?"

"Sir, you are exceedingly obliging, I will give the matter my serious consideration—How is the Father?"

"The Father, madam, is very busy at the present moment. In the first place, he is occupied with the difference of brother Bazard; in the next, he wishes exceedingly that his collar, (here the apostle touched a part of his vest) should if possible be rendered more grace-ful."

Such was the language, of this picturesque philosopher whose aspect was certainly far more convincing than his eloquence.

Let me now turn to St. Simon!

In 1825, perishing from hunger, in a garret, died this extraordinary man, related to the famous Duke, whose Memoirs we are acquainted with—uncle to the Count de St. Simon, late minister in Sweden, and descended from the Dukes de Vermandois, peers of Charlemagne.

Mahomet could not boast of a life more full of action and adventure.

In 1760 he entered, at the age of seventeen, into the military service, and served five campaigns in America, with the rank of colonel. "Descartes," he says in his works, "was a soldier before he was a philosopher:—he was brave in the field, and daring in his studies."

This quotation he wished to be applied to himself. But the constitution of America struck him more forcibly than the war which secured it. "I was not born," he remarks, "to be a great captain, my mind was framed for a different species of activity;" and though he so far retained the habits of a camp, as to have been known throughout life as much for a duellist as a philanthropist, he soon gave up the career of arms and devoted himself to—what he conceived—the cause of perfection and civilization.

The revolution of America struck him in the same manner that it struck Paine:—as the commencement of an era in which the energies and destinies of the human race were to take a new developement; and separating himself from the subversive system of the revolution of 89, he directed all his thoughts to the

reconstruction of society, on a different foundation from that which had been destroyed.

Nor did he proceed without a plan!

The thirty-four years prior to the publication of *Le Nouveau Christianisme* were thus divided :

Seven years he allowed to the acquisition of pecuniary means—seven to the acquisition of metaphysical and scientific knowledge—ten to a philosophical—ten to a political renovation.

Pursuant to this course, he entered in 1770 into a commercial association with Count Redern, the gains of which were immense ; and, separating himself from his colleague, St. Simon commenced the second part of his project.

And now, in order to pursue his studies with greater advantage, he established himself successively opposite the *Ecole de Médecine* and the *Ecole Polytechnique*. His house, his table, his purse, were prodigally open to every professor, or experimentalist, in science.\*

“ Money !” said he to a physician, “ is money what you want to prosecute your discovery ?

\* It was during this time that he published: *Les Lettres au bureau de Longitude*—*Les Lettres sur l'Encyclopédie*—*L'Introduction aux Travaux Scientifiques du 19<sup>e</sup> Siècle*—*Les Mémoires sur la Gravitation, etc., etc.*

here is money!" And he was known to have given to different individuals as much as 100,000 francs (£4000) at a time.\*

It is easy to imagine that no fortune could long resist so princely a disposition ; and from the donor to science, this benevolent, if mistaken man, soon became the petitioner in its favor. It was then that the speculative philosopher, whose abilities every one had hitherto acknowledged, sunk into the *charlatan*, whose reveries every one despised.

This sudden turn of opinion, of which he was much too artless to perceive the cause, persuaded St. Simon, for a moment, that he had mistaken both his calling and his genius ; and with the energy of his character, he immediately discharged a pistol at his head ; which, though it miserably lacerated him, did not put an end to his existence.

Shortly afterwards *The New Christianity* was published ; in which work, passing beyond his former theories, and taking them as the bases of his assertion, he proclaimed the impossibility of establishing any general system except upon a "Sentiment of religion."

The last days of this unhappy enthusiast

\* M. Poisson, the celebrated geometrist, was known to be one of the favorite pupils of St. Simon.

were passed in an honorable state of misery, which it is difficult not to feel for, as one considers the disinterestedness of his conduct.

“ For a fortnight,” says he not long before his death, “ I have ate nothing but bread, and drank nothing but water. I am writing in the depth of winter without a fire; and I have just sold my coat in order to pay for the copy of my work. It is my passion for science and the public weal—it is my burning and unquenchable desire to deliver humanity, by some gentle process, from the errors in which it finds itself, that makes me support my distress with courage, and deprives me of any shame in acknowledging it.”

I confess that, upon the memory of such a man, ridiculous and erroneous as I deem his opinions, I pause with a certain respect. . . . .

The writings of St. Simon are the writings of a man of no common powers, but of a man who lacked that kind of practical intuition, the want of which separated Shelley from Byron in poesy, Plato from Aristotle in politics and philosophy. It is no use dreaming for mankind, if mankind is never to awake and find your visions true.

Different, however, from similar theorists who have preceded and succeeded him, St. Simon

did not imagine that his doctrines were to change the world, but that the world was of itself passing into a change which would render his doctrines admissible and true.

He did not so much pretend to create as to foresee.

The founder of many theories, which, as they were subsequently systematized, became more ridiculous in being brought out more clearly, he was as far behind his disciples in absurdity and pretension, as he went beyond them in originality and intelligence.

St. Simon, in the first place, though impressed with the idea that a new social system was to be formed, does not seem so convinced of the necessity of a totally new creed.

He attacks the High Priests of Rome, not because they were the supreme pastors of the Catholic church, but because they had not for centuries properly fulfilled their mission. He does not excite the people against the representatives of St. Peter; but he blames the representatives of St. Peter for not being in alliance with the people. He does not wish there to be no pope; but he wishes the pope to be a philosophic philanthropist.

He says that the civilization of a people is to be judged by the social situation of woman;

but he no where preaches the marvellous liberation of female kind.

He says that the profits of the capitalist, at the expense of the workman, go on gradually decreasing ; but he says no where that a time will arrive when there shall be no capitalists. He says that the privileges of birth have been daily losing their importance ; but he does not say that all the privileges of birth are entirely to cease, and that a man is to have no other family than society at large. He had the idea of making the labourer a sort of public functionary ; but he had no idea of annihilating all the individuality attached to private existence.

He was a visionary and an enthusiast, but there were bounds to his enthusiasm, and a sense of decency presided over his visions.

Bazard and Enfantin announced themselves as revelators ; and accepted St. Simon as their precursor.

Bazard, one of the chiefs of the French Carbonari, a man of much resolution and energy, stern and conscientious, was nevertheless under the influence of his brother prophet ; who, equally inflexible, but more subtle and insinuating, contrived for a time to make his superiority and opinions generally received. But

at last that *causa deterrima belli!* — woman — who has so often set philosophers and heroes by the ears, introduced an indecent and irreconcileable controversy into the council of these preachers of universal union.

“ The world,” said Enfantin, “ has hitherto been divided into two powers, or two families” —the power temporal—the power spiritual—the feudal family, and the papal family.

The one reposing on the succession of power by the descent of blood; the other on the succession of power by the election of merit.

The world, in its present state of intelligence, will no longer tolerate the first; but the second, founded on celibacy, though possible for a class, is impossible for a community.

The new family should neither be the feudal family, nor the papal family; but a family comprising the advantages of both.

In the papal family, incapacity could not arrive at place; in the feudal family the ties of blood connected the superior with the inferior,—the father with the child.

Now listen to St. Enfantin’s admirable device!

The ceremony of confession, however practised in the Catholic church, was in theory, at all events, a mental or spiritual process. This—

christianity being the religion of the spirit according to the St. Simonians—was as it should be. But St. Simonism was the religion of the flesh as well as of the spirit; the ceremony of confession was therefore to partake of the nature of the faith, and be somewhat in harmony with the flesh also.

In short, as the confession in catholicism was the communion of mind with mind, the confession of St. Simonism was to be the communion of mind with mind through the medium of the body; and all that we mean now by saying that a lady is going to the devil, we might, in the St. Simonian era, have expressed by saying that she was going to the confessional.

The sovereign pontiff then would be, by duty, bound to confess all the ladies whose superiority entitled them to such a distinction; and the sovereign priestess would have an equal obligation to perform to the eminent men whose piety led them, and whose genius entitled them, to her couch.\*

But what the Priest-King and the Priestess-

\* It is needless to observe that no tie could be invented which would so closely bind the chief with the community, and render that term—now so frequently misapplied—strictly correct, viz.

That sovereigns are the fathers of their people.

Queen did for people of the very first distinction, the priests and priestesses of different degrees were to do for persons of less pretensions ; and certainly, when one considers that the priesthood was to be the government, one must confess that no other constitutional system ever provided for so close and constant an amalgamation of the governors and the governed.

By this ingenious contrivance, vice was to be banished from the world ; there was to be no profligacy, no prostitution.

For a prostitute was honored as a priestess, and a profligate, venerable as a priest : while the St. Simonian family became, as it was intended, united by ties of consanguinity, and distinguished according to merit.

Still there was one injunction upon the priesthood, which it would be right to mention, since it must be confessed that it threw a serious impediment in the way of their duties.

Those duties were to be performed with a perfect calm.

Was it from this that High Priest Bazard dissented ? — he did however dissent ; — not having, in the words of the more enlightened, a mind sufficiently great and elevated to comprehend the necessity and the sublimity of

this political and philosophical and sexual system of connexion.

The defection of such a man as Bazard was important ; but more so, was a vast diminution in proselytes—upon the announcement of those doctrines, which few, for the honor of France, were capable of appreciating.

Funds ceased to fall in, and disciples consequently increased falling off, until the sacred Enfantin, gathering his most devoted about him, retired to the solitudes of Menilmontant, where he was daily falling into a neglect and contempt, under which he would have ridiculously perished, if the government had not kindly invested him with some kind of importance by its prosecution.

The personal ascendancy which this impostor exercised was certainly of an extraordinary description. One of his followers, now sufficiently ready to ridicule his former master, has nevertheless told me a most marvellous tale of the fascinating manner with which 'the father' was known to have converted two avaricious old advocates who poured, at his bidding, their hard earned and dearly prized gold into the common purse ; and such an impression has he left upon some of his disciples, that many still profess to consider

that there was nothing ridiculous in his trusting his defence to—his regard.\*

There were upon the jury, however, men with hearts 'impassible';—and our modern Mahomet was condemned, as we have seen, to a year's imprisonment; at the end of which he set out for the region whence the sages of old came from, and embarked—with St. Simonism and a plan of cutting through the isthmus of Suez—for the East.

\* When called upon for his defence, Enfantin rolled his eyes round the room, and fixing them on the jury, said: "*Que sa défense était dans son regard.*"

## CHAPTER IX.

The sea turned into lemonade—M. C. Fourier's system of the Four Movements—The Fourieristes' system of Education—Those who have not found, and yet seek a religion.

HOWEVER extraordinary the sect of St. Simonians, there are other philosophies, in Paris, not a whit less singular.

It may rather startle the grave and prudent people of the metropolis to hear of a sage who asserts that the sea is, in its natural process, turning into lemonade; and who logically proves that the fate of humanity, in distant generations, will be to sustain an ornament behind which it would be rather difficult to arrange with a pair of breeches.

Such, however, are among the doctrines of M. C. Fourier, a man of great powers of mind, and who has for his disciples many of the most grave and disciplined youth of France.

It would be impossible, in the space that yet remains to me for this subject, to go at any length into the various ramifications of that system which was first announced in 1808 by "*la théorie des quatre mouvements.*"

The basis of "Fourrierisme" is the doctrine of attraction, not merely applied to the material but to the moral world; and necessarily leading to a system of association as the natural condition of society.

This, M. Fourrier believes to be alone prevented by an improper development of the passions.

His object, then, is to form mankind into associations in which their passions *will* be properly, or as he would say, harmoniously developed.

With this view he proposes a kind of college, called a *phalangstère*, where a certain number of individuals live and labour together; and in such college, he furthermore proposes to turn the natural propensities of men, which at present so frequently lead them to injure each other, to the greatest common advantage. His plan consists chiefly in making employment a pleasure, and in gratifying our favorite inclinations in our most useful pursuits.

Considering toil to be tedious in proportion as it is monotonous, and that one of the great characteristics of human-kind is—versatility—all labour is to be of short duration, and every member of a *phalangstère*, is to be educated for a variety of alternate occupations.

Here too the character of the individual is to be preserved, and the economy of the community obtained; for instance, in that most important part of existence which depends on the kitchen, instead of 2,000 women being occupied in cooking the dinners of 2000 husbands, as would be the case if these couples were living in separate cabins—fifty are to suffice for this duty, and 1950 remain at liberty to do any thing else. But with this community of cooks there is not to be any common broth: every one is to come for his own particular plate, and a *phalangstère's* kitchen is a *restaurateur's* shop;—separate to consult the palates of each; united to provide for the wants of all.

It may be worth while to follow M. Fourrier more closely into that part of his system where his ideas appear to most advantage, viz. the education of his disciples.

The great fault of our educational discipline system is — that it represses all those

passions and propensities which it ought to profit by and bring out.

Who is the poor creature that Dr. such a one calls a good boy ?

A poor sallow-faced thing with chilblained fingers stuck into both pockets ; without that animal energy that would withdraw him from his lesson, and wanting the spirit for adventure and enterprize, which, if it lead the boy into mischief, carries the man to distinction.

The aim of the master is to macadamize the child's character down to the flattest possible level : the least little bit of originality and inequality is to be scolded or whipped out of him ; and if you wish to discover who will be the greatest person in the world, you may be pretty sure, that your guess is not a bad one —if you lay your fingers on the worst lad in the school.

M. Fourrier's system is in direct contradiction to this absurd and manifest error.

He recognises, as a necessity, the natural disposition of a child in the different ages of infancy ; and instead of crushing it with severity, supplies it with materials on which to work with advantage.

The child incapable of thought is for ever in movement. He cries, he jumps, he breaks

this thing, he dirties that, and is perpetually encountered with the command, "Be quiet, Sir!"

The Fourrieristes on the contrary say: "Be active—be restless—be what nature makes you!"

And they employ him in doing with utility that which an invisible agency teaches him to do with pleasure.

He breaks, he tears to pieces, he soils, but he does all this in such branches of industry, as make his amusements profitable instead of destructive to the society in which he lives.

Nor is this all: in the second stage of childhood, which is fixed by this sect at two years and a half or three years old, every pains is taken—not merely to satisfy the natural disposition of children—but to discover the natural bias of the child.

He is led with care through the different workshops or school-rooms, and attention is paid to all the sympathies in which a peculiar instinct might seem to manifest itself; and thus it is, that at four years and a half, the boy generally gains his livelihood by his amusements.

After that age, a new duty arises: the happy and profitable development of the senses,

which from nine to fifteen is succeeded by an equal attention to the affections.

And now, from fifteen and a half to twenty, comes the period of the passions; a period for which M. Fourrier has created two orders; one which he calls the order of the *Vestalat*, intended for those whose desires are still restrained by natural feelings of chastity and reserve.

Another called the *Damoisellat* “*où tout est l'amour!*” to use the French interpretation, “*mais pas encore la paternité.*”

The philanthropist blushes before the infamy of these regulated disorders for so tender an age—and which the English reader would be rather startled to find advocated on the ground of morality.

*Le Damoisellat* is a substitute for prostitution and adultery; a preventive to marriage from the mere animal feeling which is afterwards followed by disgust. The serious proposal of such an infernal institution almost reconciles one to the vices it was intended to remedy;—still let in France the gallantry of proper ladies be treated leniently by society, and the frailties of improper ladies licensed by the state!

In all this, we find a proof of that laxity in respect to female conduct, and of the indulgence with which the public regard the sexes' failings without which such a code would scarcely have been invented—certainly not avowed.

But what can be said—unless we recur to what is reported of the ancient mysteries—for those scenes in which the privacies of the marriage couch are made a public ceremony—and philosophy, forsooth, appears arranged in the shameless attire of a Parisian brothel?

Besides the two sects that I have mentioned—sects which suppose, or did suppose, that a new system of religion or religious philosophy was found—there are other sects, declaring themselves still on the search after this *ignis fatuus* of their time. “O mes contemporains,” exclaims one of the most distinguished of these, “je vous vois tous en quête d'une religion, ni pour vous, ni pour votre postérité immédiate; mais chaque jour dans vos désillusionnemens, ce mot religion erre sur vos lèvres.”

The author of the words I quote says that “religion is philosophy and philosophy the science of life;”—every age, he believes, has

understood human existence in a particular way, from which has proceeded a particular philosophy, generating a particular religion.

The character of the present epoch, he concludes, is "founded on the perfectibility of mankind—the history of science, literature and the arts."

Hence the principles of equality and fraternity, from which are to arise a philosophy that our era will receive, and a religion that our era will recognize.

The world exhibits, according to these doctrines, a series of perpetual changes; and as there were different epochs in its material formation—epochs when it could only produce vegetables, when it subsequently produced fish, animals, and ultimately mankind—so in its moral organization there are also epochs, when the present—sown with the past—will produce a future,—not independent of preceding events because begotten by them—not bound by preceding events because beyond their region; and thus, if equality, and liberty, and authority have not yet been compatible with each other—they may be so; the ideas of each proceed from antiquity, their union may be the work of modern times.

“Inspirons-nous de ce désir de notre époque,

et cherchons des formes nouvelles qui puissent satisfaire ses besoins.”\*

Those are equally in error, preaches this youthful sage from whom I quote, who think to establish new systems without the aid of our older chronicles—or who would circumscribe the growing desires of mankind by any ancient system inapplicable to modern days.

“ You are right,” says he to the catholics, “ to attach yourselves to your tradition ; on that tradition all subsequent theories have been founded—but do you not see the faith which gave life to catholicism, first migrated to protestantism, and then to philosophy. Why, when its young shoots have taken root in the earth, go seek the old and withered trunk ? see you not that nature has conspired its ruin, that the seasons which nourished it of old now alternately assail it ;—and that the worms begotten in its core are silently crumbling it to pieces ?”

The error of this doctrine is in the idea on which it is founded. The condition of humanity changes, and society is, therefore, wisely subjected to a perpetual series of laws. But

\* Let us inspire ourselves with this desire of our time, and seek new forms which shall satisfy its wants.

human nature itself does not change, and it is to human nature, and not the condition of humanity, that religion properly belongs.

Let people talk, if they will, of christianity appertaining to another civilization!—that creed which, at its birth, invaded the wildernesses of Africa and the groves of Greece, which in after times was equally received by the polished refinements of the East and the barbarous heroism of the West—and which, even at the moment that I write—demands new churches in the metropolis of the British Empire—is climbing the steps of the temple of the Indian Idol—and raising shrines amidst the blazing woods of America—that creed is for mankind and not for any peculiar condition of our race;—its foundations are laid—not in our habits—but in our hearts; and after all this farrago about the history of science, literature, and the arts, and the principles of equality and fraternity which rest thereon—in what system of that modern philosophy, by which christianity, forsooth, has been or is to be absorbed, do we find the principles of equality and fraternity so firmly seated as in those very doctrines preached by Christ Jesus 1835 years ago, and which have been gaining proselytes from that year to this?

## CONCLUDING REMARKS.

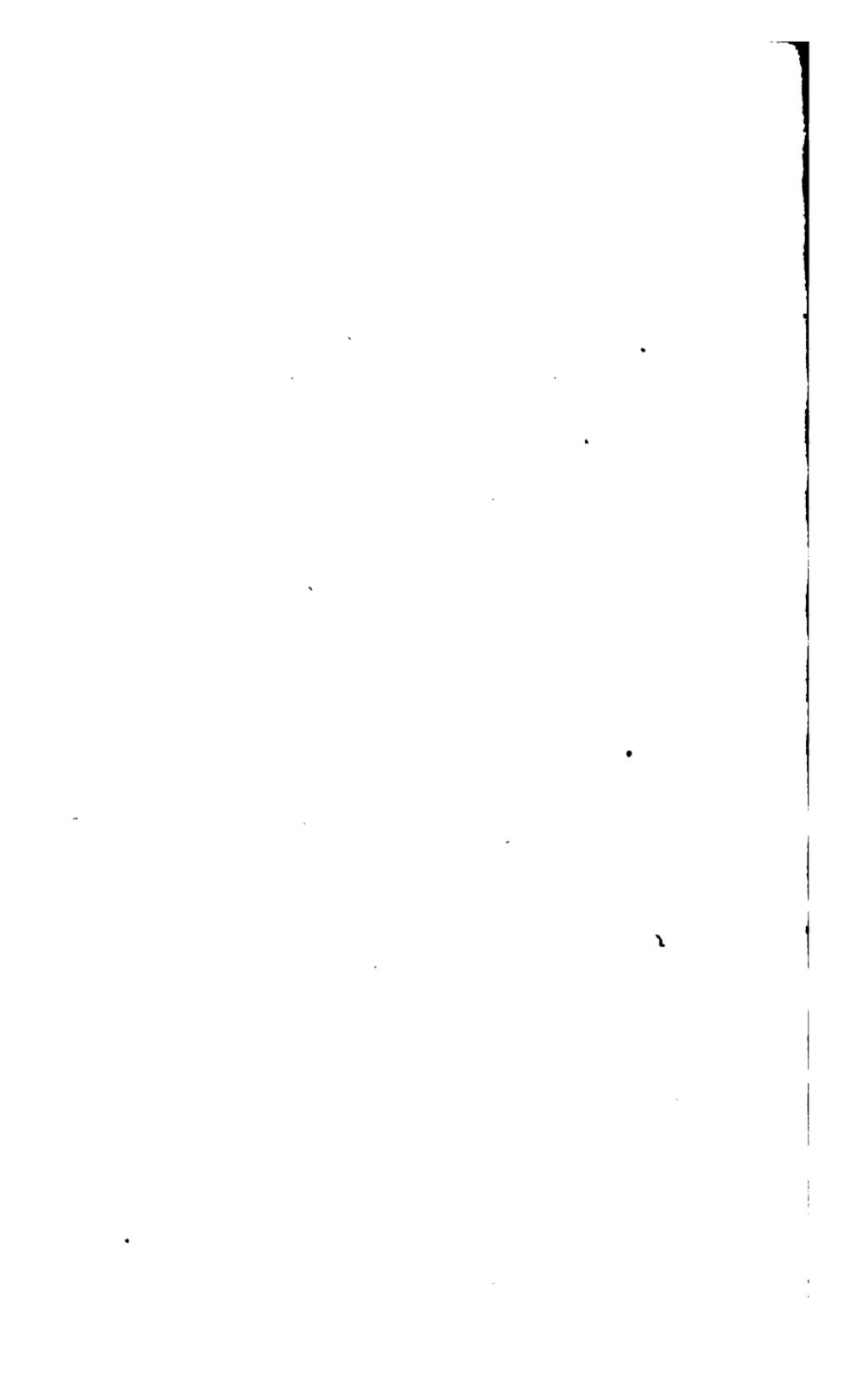
IN the earlier portion of this work I spoke of the character of the French; and so in later passages I have been able to note various instances in which that character is still displayed.

The character of a people is, no doubt, ever visible. But if the dispositions of society depend, in somewise, upon causes which are hereditary and undestructive, the organization of society depends upon a cause which the legislature can change and has changed in an extraordinary degree in France; whatever relates to the propensities of that nation remains the same as formerly; whatever relates to its rights is altered.

But to make a general alteration in the rights of a people, you must make a general alteration in the condition of a people. It is not sufficient to legislate at the surface of society, you must strike at its root. In short, in order to affect the general distribution of rights, you must affect the general distribution of property.

In all the subjects of which I have just been treating, we trace the effects of this cause—which, widening the public arena, making lite-

rature more popular, religion less monarchical, has breathed into philosophical speculation a spirit of fraternity and association natural to arise in a land, the proprietors of which possess little and possess alike.



## BOOK IV.

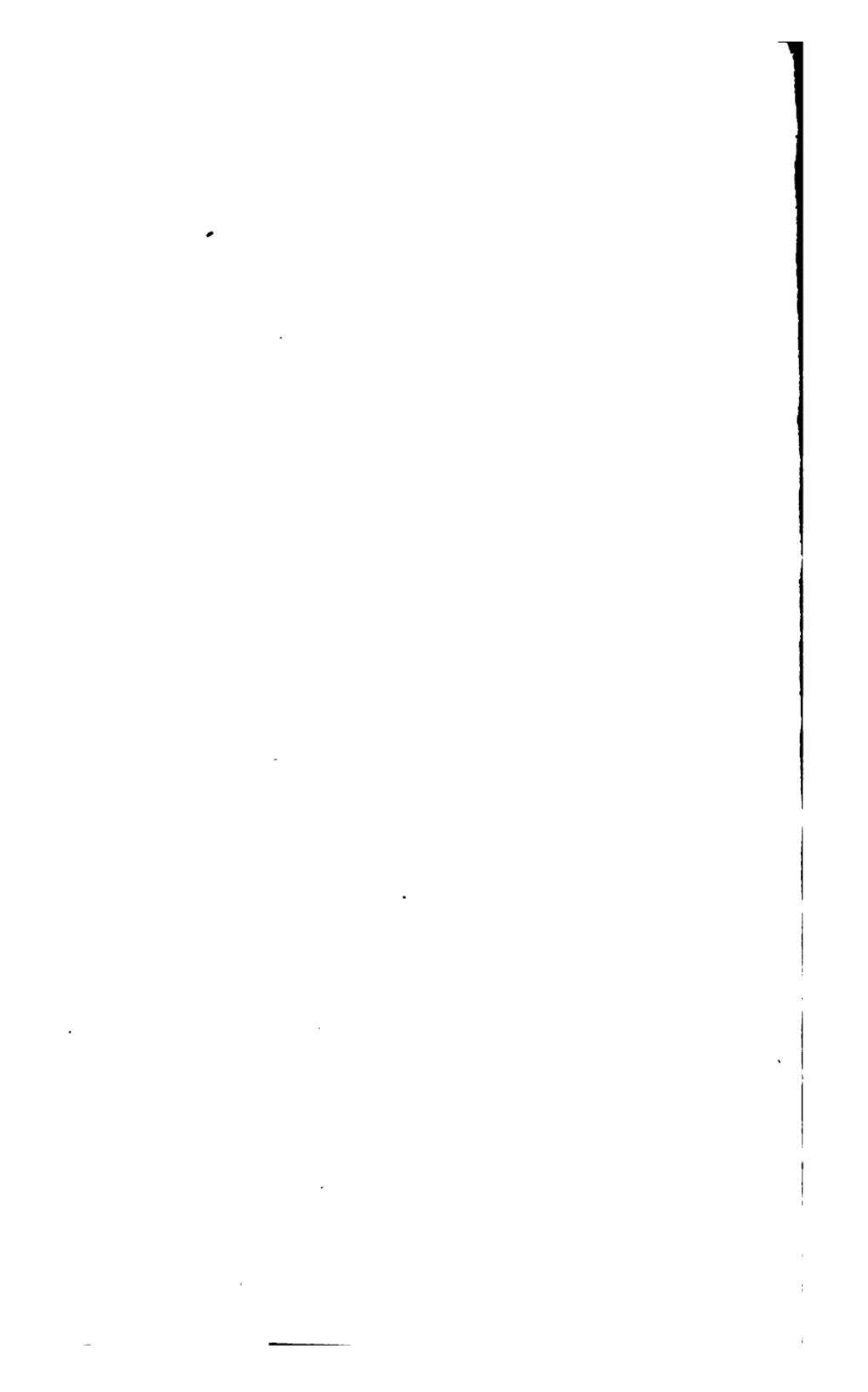
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### DIVISION OF PROPERTY.

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“ The study of truth is perpetually joined with the love of virtue; for there is no virtue which derives not its original from truth; as, on the contrary, there is no vice which has not its beginning from a lie.”

*Character of Polybius.—Dryden.*



## DIVISION OF PROPERTY.

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### CHAPTER X.

Difference between France under Napoleon and England under Cromwell—The most important question in France, the division of its property—Mr. Cobbett Junr's ride through that country.

WHEN Oliver Cromwell assumed the protectorship of England, one man succeeded to another. The sovereign changed, and not the country. When Napoleon declared himself Emperor of France, France was no longer the France of 1789. The revolutions that had mounted to the palace, had descended to the cottage. The revolutions that had ruled the capital, had traversed the provinces. As the ancient divisions of the country had been cut up into departments and arrondissements, so also the ancient properties of the country had

undergone similar transformations and divisions. It was impossible for the restoration to return to the old government and the old opinions. The moral condition of France could never be the same as it had been, for its material condition had effectually and permanently altered ; the government of Louis XVI reposed on about two millions and a half of landed proprietors ;—the government of Louis-Philippe has the broader basis of at least five millions.

The most important question connected with France is undoubtedly this division of property.

Many are the things that have been said for and against it—most of them very exaggerated ; some, very amusing.

A little book which I have once alluded to—“ Ride through France by Mr. Cobbett Junr.” —bears artless testimony to the utter uselessness of personal observation.

A young gentleman of acute mind and much practical information sallies forth on a tour through France, in order to judge for himself of the state of that country.

Do not imagine that this young gentleman is one of your ordinary post-paying or diligence-be-darkened travellers, trusting to the breath-besmeared windows of a vehicle for the view

which is to furnish the memoranda necessary for his volume.

No: more sagacious and more determined, he packs up his horse with himself, and starts, thus independently equipped, for Calais. Well; he arrives—he tells you at once the price of horsehoeing and oats; of supper, breakfast, and dinner; and, having thus appealed to your attention, sets out earnestly and heartily on his adventures.

His object, reader, is the same as yours, if you wish, as I presume, to inquire into the state of the peasantry in that land which he has undertaken to visit. Let us, then, follow him through his desultory journal; we shall be sure to pick up some useful and practical information.

For instance :—

“ These people—(the people at the Calais market) are *well dressed*: the labourers pretty much in the same fashion as the English, with smock frocks and trowsers made of linen stuff of a blue colour, and shoes and hats like the English. The women are strikingly uniform in their dress, and in wet weather *all wear cloaks*.”

Come, this is pretty comfortable; where are we going to, and what shall we see next?

Our traveller is in the neighbourhood of St. Omer :

“ The dress of the women, that I see at work in the fields, is coarser than that generally worn by our labourers' wives and daughters—but it exhibits *very little of that raggedness* which now characterises *the dress of so large a portion of those who earn their bread by hard work in England.*”

Let us on—

“ A labourer gets from one to two francs a day, according to his ability:—journeymen carpenters, bricklayers, and the like, about the same. The price of beef is eight sous (four-pence) the pound—a loaf of bread *the size of an English quartern*, five sous (twopence half-penny), two fowls, two francs, (one shilling and eight-pence).”

I do not think an English labourer would see much in this state of things that he would not be very kindly disposed to accept:—

But we are coming into a new country.

#### BRIARRE, PROVINCE OF GASTINOIS.

“ The dress of the labouring people here is certainly *better than that of the labourers in England.*”

And again, 106:

“ The dress of the labourers in France is good. They wear, in all parts of the country that I have yet seen, a smock frock and trowsers of a blue colour, like the dress worn by most of the labourers in the county of Sussex. The garments of the Sussex men, however, are very frequently in a state of *raggedness*, which is seldom the case with those of the *French*.

And now for a good breakfast!

"I do not see," says our traveller, "why this cabbage, which had plenty of bread in it, and the wine, should not be *a thousand times better for breakfast* than the *cold potatoes* and *tea* which are now so *fashionable* among the common people of England."

#### CHATILLON SUR INDRE, PROVINCE OF BERRI.

§ 145. "The *labouring people* or *peasantry* have usually *cows of their own*. Sometimes one cow, sometimes two or three cows belong to one labourer's family. They keep also pigs of their own."

Upon my word!—

167. The bread made of rye near Tours, and which the *peasantry* eat, sells for *one sous and a half*—not *quite a penny*—a quartern; and *is better than our finest baker's bread*."

210. "Some people who have been travellers in this country exclaim, *how many beggars there are in France!* There are, to be sure, a great many beggars here; but I have not seen more of them in the country parts of France, than I should have seen in England had I been travelling in England along the same high road. I certainly did not see so many beggars in *Paris* as I have seen in *London*, and there is *this important difference* between the individual appearance of the beggars in France and England:—*a very large portion* of our beggars are *neither aged nor infirm*, while in France there is scarcely *any object* of this description *that is not old or in some way incapable of earning a living*."

"The greater part of the *English beggars* beg because

they *cannot get employment*: and the beggars of France beg because they are *unfitted for employment*. It is the state of society in England which causes the beggar, while in France, it is his inability to render society any service.”

What are we inclined to think of all this? Might we not suppose that our equestrian philosopher had discovered the people of France to be better off than the people of England; and the state of society, which will not find labour for the able man, to be even worse than that which allows the disabled man to solicit support?

But hold—Mr. Cobbett is arrived in Normandy.

The people of Normandy appear to him in a far better condition than those of any part of France he has traversed.

He says very naturally—“ I should like to know the reason of this.” Now, as he had found the people of France better off than the people of England, and as the people of Normandy seemed to him better off than the rest of the people of France, we might expect that he would seek “this reason” in some circumstances which existed in Normandy itself, and which had nothing to do with the rest of France and nothing to do with England.

But no : an idea suddenly strikes him, viz. ; that the people of Normandy fare better than the rest of the people of France, because there is some resemblance between them, and the people of England, who, according to him, fare worse than the people of the rest of France.\*

Down then with the pyramid of observations I have been building up ! Let us congratulate the unfortunate English peasant, whose melancholy face is turned hopefully to the Poor-house ! he is in the best possible system, in the best possible world—and if the peasant of France be *actually better* off than himself,—by every rule of philosophy and political economy *he ought not to be so*. Happy consolation ! I wish Mr. Cobbett, when he was considering the present, had turned his horse's head, for a moment, towards the past.

What was the Norman, living on milk and on raw flesh, clothed in the skin of some wild beast, the worshipper of Thor and of Woden ?

What was the Norman, when the affrighted population of France murmured at their altars, *A furore Normanorum libera nos, Domine !*

\* He says he was told that the superior condition of Normandy is owing to the large estates which formerly existed there, and which still to a certain degree remain.

What was the Norman, when he took possession of Sicily, besieged Constantinople, conquered England, and carried his fierce Leopard within the walls of Antioch and Jerusalem?

Is it not the same spirit of activity, the same cast of prudence, which the old chronicles have given him, in his days of rapine and adventure, that with the progress of society he has transplanted into the pursuits of agriculture and commerce?

The character of the Norman has been, at all times, different from that of the races with which he is now intermingled: enterprising, calculating, industrious;—not independent of circumstances certainly, but his horse is not independent of circumstances;—yet feed and exercise that horse as you will, though it shall become more or less fat—more or less sleek—and more or less active—it will be always superior to the animal which grazes in a barren paddock in Picardy, and always inferior to the barb which roves in Arabia, or the thoroughbred which runs at Newmarket.

Mr. Cobbett supposes that the custom of primogeniture prevailed exclusively in Normandy, and that the superior agricultural prosperity of Normandy is owing to the remaining effects of such custom.

There are three facts to state in opposition to this :—

First ; The custom of primogeniture did not prevail all over Normandy.

Secondly ; Since its abolition, the agriculture of Normandy, which according to Mr. Cobbett's reasoning ought to have degenerated, has in reality most considerably improved.

“ L'usage des jachères,” says M. Loriol in his ‘*Description géographique et statistique de la France*’ lately published—“ l'usage des jachères était autrefois général en Normandie, mais il se perd de jour en jour. Au commencement de ce siècle, elles pouvaient déjà être évaluées, pour le département en général, à moitié seulement du sol qu'elles occupaient de 1790 à 1792, et aujourd'hui on ne les suppose guère que du dixième des terres consacrées à la culture.”\*

Lastly ; If Mr. Cobbett had given a look at those parts of Normandy in the hands of great proprietors, and those parts of Normandy which are cut up into small properties, he would have found, that if the maintenance of large estates ought to be favorable to their culture, it is still—strange to say ! those very districts

\* For this and other translations not given in notes—  
See Appendix.

of Normandy the most divided which are the best cultivated.\*

Mr. Cobbett, however, had not time for this—he was obliged to be off, leaving us and himself in a strange perplexity, which is hardly dispelled by the following sentence.

“ This (the effects of the law of primogeniture) is a subject full of important considerations, one that I should like to see ably discussed, but certainly one which I never bestowed a thought on till I entered this famous province of Normandy.”

Now, this is singular !

As long as Mr. Cobbett travelled over France, merely observing what he saw, he thought the people of that country very comfortably arranged;—but directly he began to reflect on the cause of their condition, he discovered that they ought to be plunged in the deepest misery and distress !

No marvel then that a gentleman who, under these circumstances, took much the wisest way — who, seeing all the folly and vanity of personal research, did not, I am pretty sure, give

\* I may quote that very intelligent gentleman, M. de Tocqueville, who is known to us for his work on America, and whose family possess estates in that province, as one of my authorities.

himself the pains of such information — no marvel then that a gentleman,—with merely the report of our factory committee, and the report of our poor law commissioners, and the tables indicative of the increase of crime in Great Britain, piled up upon his library table,—should have rubbed his hands a little pharasaically, and rejoiced at the happy contrast which existed between the people of his own contented land, and those of the 'well dressed'—'well employed' — 'cloak-covered' — 'cow-keeping' — 'fine bread-eating' — 'wine-breakfasting' wretches on the other side of the channel.

## CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Macculloch on the effects of the division of property in France—His arguments: First, “A sense of their inferiority in younger children will excite them to make extraordinary exertions after wealth;” Secondly, “That the bias in the heads of great families to provide for younger children out of the public establishments is very faint.”

THE fable of Achilles is but an allegory. The wisest and the strongest have a part that is vulnerable to every coward and every fool; and far be it from me to derive any pert satisfaction from the proof which I shall venture, somewhat presumptuously, to give, that a very able man may be betrayed by haste and prejudice into a very negligent composition. The error of the author, I am about to criticise, has been the common error—the error which too usually follows us into all our judgments of men and things; the error which allows us to perceive nothing right where we see any thing wrong; the error which leads the liberal to

despise the tory as a blockhead; the tory to loath the liberal as a traitor; the error which teaches the fanatic to believe there is no safety out of his creed; the political economist to believe there is no fact at variance with his theory.

If Mr. Macculloch had been satisfied with fairly comparing the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems under which property may be disposed of;—if he had stated certain principles, as likely to affect that system which is prevalent in France, acknowledging, at the same time, the subordination of such principles to various influences—many of which are even beyond the scope of our dim intelligences; if he had recognized the faults inherent in the custom of primogeniture, as well as those attendant on the custom of equal succession; if he had seen the causes which sometimes counteract and sometimes counterbalance the dangers of a law, which in the country of which I am writing has produced evil as well as good;—but certainly not the evil which mere speculation might have induced us to anticipate;—I should have paid that respect to him as a philosopher which I now withhold from him as an enthusiast. ‘Enthusiast,’ I say, for a man may

be an enthusiast, though a compiler of facts and an arguer with figures; and God only knows the mischief that is committed by gentlemen whose wisdom consists mostly in their appearance, and who conceal more than the madness of Sir Launcelot beneath the grave and solemn aspect of Dr. Syntax.

But, sensible of the delicacy of my task, I wish to strip it as much as possible of the usual vagueness of presumption; and while I do justice to the arguments of Mr. Macculloch, by laying them as plainly as possible before my readers, to do also justice to his understanding, by showing how little those arguments could have met with his serious consideration.

#### MR. MACCULLOCH'S ARGUMENT.—I.

The prejudices of most political philosophers, against the custom of primogeniture, seem to rest on no solid foundation; for the institution or custom of primogeniture, by giving the estate to the eldest son, forces the others to quit the home of their father—and *the sense they must feel of their inferiority* in point of wealth, as compared with the head of their family, will be a motive to them to make extraordinary exertions, *which could not have had any existence, if their patrimonies had been equal to his.*

Now, so much of this is correct: it is advisable to give society a stimulus to enrich

itself—Why is this? to render society happier? but if the stimulus you employ to make people happier, only makes them more miserable— you then defeat the object you have in view by the method you take to attain it. Is it not so?

Mr. Macculloch says : “The law of primogeniture will best make a nation rich; and riches are a means of happiness ; therefore, the more rich you make a nation, the more happy you make it.”

The opponent to the law of primogeniture, if the argument were to rest upon this ground, might not find it difficult to refute his antagonist.

“Riches,” he would say, “are, as you observe, a means of happiness; but they are not happiness. If the method you pursue to make a nation wealthy embitters the pursuit and the possession of wealth, if the method you take to give people the means of enjoying themselves deprives every one of enjoyment, you are the last of legislators and philosophers, though you may call yourself the first of political economists.

What, according to you, is the result of your law of primogeniture?

A community consists of so many families ; a family of so many children.

On the eldest born you bestow, not what is to satisfy him, but what is to make those who are begotten a year or two after him restless, envious, and discontented. “ *The sense they are to feel of their inferiority in point of wealth, is to induce them to make extraordinary exertions,*” not to gratify their own wants remember ! but to equal another’s fortune !

There are five brothers : to one the father says, “ I leave you more than you want because it will make your brothers wretched until they have as much.” To the four other brothers the same kind parent observes, “ I have left you less than you want, that you may have no peace till you have more than you require.” The one is to have every appetite pampered, in order that the others may have every faculty worn out.

Observe ! if the younger brother found himself in his proper place—if he felt contented at being poor when his elder brother was rich, the whole value of your system would be gone : where you make four contented persons you make four paupers ; it is only where you make four miserable persons that you have a chance

of making four rich persons ; and you have contrived all this—who would suppose it !—for the benefit of whom ? not of the four poor persons—not of the one over-rich person—you have consulted the well-being of nobody in order to make every body well off.

You cannot tell me that the course you pursue, as best for that indefinite creature called society, is best for any one of the creatures of which society is formed ; thus, to a nameless, shapeless, insensible whole, you sacrifice every one of the real feeling, sensitive parts ; and this, because a nation should be rich, you esteem making a people happy.

It may be possible, therefore, to substitute for your stimulus to the acquisition of wealth, another stimulus ;—not so strong perhaps as that it replaces, but nevertheless better ; because, instead of being inimical to the happiness which wealth is to procure, it may in itself contain elements of enjoyment.

Is such the custom of equal succession ?

A man starts in the world with £400 a year. He quadruples this, and has at the end of his days four children. He says, on his death-bed to each of these children : “ I started in the world with £400 a year—I have succeeded in the world ; I have made myself a name ; I

have made myself a fortune; and I have the happiness to leave each of you just what I myself began with."

Here there is no envy, no jealousy working upon the three brothers to become as rich as the elder one—filial admiration, parental affection, a respect for their parent's memory, a desire to do as much for their own children—these are the emotions you inspire!

Contrast such emotions with those you have been eulogizing! they are surely more consistent with human nature, if they are not so powerful over human ambition. The abolition of the law of primogeniture does not destroy all inducement to industry. It substitutes one inducement for another—an inducement which may be weaker, but which is better; more pious, more noble; not only exciting the energy, but elevating the character, and developing the affections; less productive, it may be, of wealth which is a means of happiness, but more consistent with happiness which wealth is intended to procure.

The opponent to the law of primogeniture might reply thus, and reply with success if the advantages of primogeniture depended upon the argument with which Mr. Macculloch principally defends it: I say “principally

defends it," because what follows is rather an excuse for its defects than a proof of its merits.

#### ARGUMENT 2.

It has sometimes been (exaggeratedly) contended that the custom of primogeniture is injurious, because it interests the leading families of the country in the support of expensive public establishments in which their younger brothers are commonly placed.

This bias, if it really exist, seems to be *very faint*. In so far as the administration of public justice is concerned, the younger branches of great families have certainly evinced *no very particular desire to encroach upon the many lucrative situations it affords*.

The advantages held out by the army, to a man who has been *genteelly brought up*, are certainly in a pecuniary point of view very far from alluring; and had the bias in question been so strong as represented, it is surprising that some more strenuous efforts should not have been made, by the wealthier classes, to get the pay of the officers augmented.

Much has been said about situations in the colonies; *but colonies were not originally acquired to provide situations for any particular class, but to extend the commerce of the country; and at this moment, if we except a few of the higher appointments, the others are as commonly filled by the sons of manufacturers and merchants as by those of landed gentlemen.*

And supposing outlets for the latter, in the army, navy and church, were narrowed, *it would merely oblige a greater number of them to enter upon the more lucrative pursuits of commerce and manufactures, a change which, whether advantageous or not to others, would be anything but injurious to them.*

I confess that if I thought what Mr. Macculloch said in favor of the law of primogeniture not very strong, what he says in apology of it appears to me even more strikingly weak.

In the first place as to the law: "The younger branches of great families have evinced no particular desire to encroach upon the many lucrative situations which it affords."

The law happens to be a very hardworking profession, and as the fame and fortune to be acquired at it depend more upon the public than upon the government, no persons are likely to enter upon the laborious offices of that career who have not a considerable degree of talent and industry to devote to it.

To say, therefore, that the younger branches of the great families do not do this—is to say—what? that the law of primogeniture fails where it ought, according to Mr. Macculloch's previous argument, to be most successful—that it actually fails in inspiring that very industry and energy which he said, a little while ago, it was its peculiar principle and merit to beget!

But is it true that the younger branches of these families do not run after the honors and lucre of the legal profession, where those honors and that lucre can be most easily obtained?—

Let us even take the heads of these families!—  
Let us, and let Mr. Macculloch, look at that  
list of sinecurists which we owe to the industry  
of the once radical Sir James Graham!

Lord Ellenborough; the chief Clerk of King's Bench; fees.	£9,625	8	1
Hon. W. H. I. Scott; receiver of the fines of the court of Chancery. . . . .	240	14	8
Do;—Registrar of affidavits. .	1,816	13	8
Do;—Clerk of the letters patent. . . . .	553	14	11
Earl Bathurst; Clerk of the Crown. . . . .	1,108	5	0

“ But the army and navy, to a man genteelly  
brought up, are certainly, in a pecuniary point  
of view, far from alluring; and had the bias in  
question been so strong as it has been repre-  
sented, it, is somewhat surprising that some  
more strenuous efforts should not have been  
made by the wealthier classes to get the pay of  
the officers augmented.”

Without cavilling at that rather indefinite  
expression — “ *genteelly brought up*,” and  
which, seemingly intended to apply to Duke-  
lets and Earl-lets, is most scandalously unjust

if it exclude any of the butcher's and baker's sons who are "most genteelly brought up" in the various "genteel" seminaries at Turnham Green, Pimlico and Clapham—without cavilling at that expression "*genteelly brought up*," and supposing Mr. Macculloch to mean what his words do not precisely mean, viz.

That the wealthy aristocracy are not to be found in the army and navy, because if they were, they would take care that the army and navy were a more lucrative profession. If this be Mr. Macculloch's meaning, as from page 460, to which I refer, it would appear to be, he is certainly adopting a very novel view of the subject.

Why, no one has ever yet pretended to deny that the system of high purchase and low pay in the army is exclusively for the purpose of favoring the wealthy classes ; it gives them, and them only the opportunity—in time of peace—(for danger and necessity level many distinctions) of arriving at the head of their profession.

This has always been candidly avowed, and indeed boasted of and defended, as the peculiar advantage of our military system over that of other nations ; and, indeed, where you have a rich aristocracy at the head of the civil government of the state, it is necessary for the safety

of that government to have the army filled with the aristocracy, and imbued with its principles.

In fact what the aristocracy of blood did in France by privilege, the aristocracy of wealth has hitherto done in England by money; and so far from attacking the system of the army by itself, I say it must be defended and maintained as part of a whole, so long as that whole is maintained; but in God's name, let it be avowed and defended boldly, and not falsely denied or pitifully excused!

The navy is a different matter. On our navy our existence depends as a nation abroad, nor does a navy threaten our government at home. It is not necessary, therefore, for the support of an aristocracy, that the navy should be aristocratic, while it would be dangerous to the vital interests of the country, if merit were not allowed a fair encouragement in this profession. Thus the system of purchase does not exist in the navy; and for that reason the navy is less fashionable than the army, and less favored, by the opinion of society, than in this great naval country it ought to be.

Now for the colonies. "Colonies were not *originally acquired* in order to provide situations for a particular class."

Is there any body who wanted to know this? Does any body want to know that Sir Walter Raleigh was not politely requested by Sir Ralph Winwood to go and find him a little provision for his younger children in El Dorado?

The question is not why the colonies were acquired, but to whom the colonial appointments have been given; and "at this moment," observes our author, "*if we except a few of the higher appointments, the others are as commonly filled by the sons of manufacturers and merchants as by the sons of landed gentlemen.*"

This must be very satisfactory—"The colonies," says Mr. Macculloch, "were acquired not to provide for our aristocracy, but to extend our commerce;" and he then adds with marvellous simplicity, "Things are just as they should be!" for to the *low* situations in those colonies, *especially acquired for the purposes of commerce*, the sons of merchants are actually admitted on the *same* footing as if they had nothing to do with commerce; and it is only from the *high* situations *in our commercial colonies that our commercial men are excluded!*

But Mr. Macculloch's argument is not at an end—

“ Supposing that the existing outlets for the latter (sons of manufacturers, merchants, etc.) in the army and navy and church, *are* narrowed, it will merely oblige a greater number of them to enter upon the more lucrative pursuits of commerce and manufactures, which (by parenthesis) “ would be much better for them.”

What a pity Mr. Macculloch had not flourished in France half a century ago ! how satisfactorily he would have proved to the *Tiers-état*, that never were men so wrong in their lives as the people of this class—while they grumbled at not being admitted into the army or honored by the court.—A cause for complaint—good heavens ! It was the greatest blessing that could befall them—it was a custom intended expressly for their happiness and advantage—for it merely *obliged* them—unreasonable men ! to enter upon the “ more lucrative pursuits of commerce and manufactures.” How rich, how happy, how commercial and how manufacturing France ought to have been at that time !—

Woe then unto you, my countrymen, who think there is any object in the world worth the toil after, and the possession of, lucre ! woe unto you who look with emulation on the wreath,

yet green, which decks the brows of the Duke of Wellington; which hangs unfaded on the tomb of Lord Nelson! woe unto you who feel inspired by the reputation of a Byron and a Scott, of a Herschell and a Babbage—who sigh after the vales of poesy or who would climb the mountains of science! Woe unto you whose pleasure and whose ambition are not wholly concentrated in the acquisition of wealth—whose thoughts take a range beyond the dingy purlieus of yonder dark and fog-breathing alley—woe unto you! if money do not make your felicity, it *ought to do so*—riches and the pursuits of riches are all that should pamper your heart or dazzle your imagination!

Happiness is only to be found on one road, and there is the commentary on Dr. Smith's Essays—by way of a sign post!—

It is with these general reflections that Mr. Macculloch commences his observations on the present state of property in *France*.

Whatever may be my own opinion on the law of primogeniture, I confess, with a proper portion of respect for one who is my superior in age and reputation, that the cause does not seem to me to have gained very considerably hitherto, by its—**GREAT DEFENDER.**

## CHAPTER XII.

## Mr. MacCulloch's contradictions — Assertions — Authorities.

Now, there are two contending sentiments to which, as I pursue my subject, I am more and more disagreeably exposed.

“Consideration for a person whose talents I acknowledge; consideration for the truth, which I believe the reputation of those talents has greatly tended to obscure.”

The last sentiment is, I confess, the strongest; and thus I venture, deferentially, to display some of the singular contradictions, and to repeat some of the singular statements, which the distinguished author whom I have just alluded to has published, in respect to the disposition of property in the country of which I am treating—published with a carelessness it is difficult to account for, and a confidence it becomes legitimate to imitate.

## CONTRADICTIONS, p. 462.

“The strong predilection entertained by the great bulk

of the children of persons engaged in the business of agriculture, for the pursuits of their fathers, has been remarked by every one in any degree connected with rural affairs ; and it is obvious that the existence of a law compelling every father to divide his estate equally among his children, must afford the greatest facilities for gratifying this natural inclination."

From this you would conclude, that the prevailing passion in France would be for the acquisition of land, which is actually the case.

But mark, page 467 :

" The rule established by the existing French law—(this rule, which was to give such a vent to the natural desire *to possess land*,) — *will naturally induce the greater number to amass monied fortunes in preference to land!*" \*

P. 466.—One quotation from Mr. Birkbeck says, " that the people in the towns, as in the country, are growing poorer and poorer—that

\* Mr. Macculloch may say that these two sentences apply differently ; that in the one case he alludes to the passion of the son, which will be to cultivate land ; in the other, to the desire of the father, which will be to save money.

But if a man is a father at the close of his career, he is also very frequently a father at the commencement of it.

Either, then, the desire to save money for his children, will influence his choice of life, or the desire to possess land will affect his saving money for his children.

both are alike rather retrograding than progressive." The very next quotation from M. Laffitte, p. 469, draws a marked distinction between the people of the towns and the country, and says that the people of the towns are all that they should be for the time at which they live.

"The people in the towns are rather retrograde than progressive."—*Birkbeck*.

"The manufacturer of our towns is as much at his ease, as industrious, and as able, as a man of the times ought to be."—*Laffitte*.

M. Laffitte's assertion, in respect to towns, annihilates Mr. Birbeck's: but M. Laffitte's assertion in respect to the country, quoted p. 467, as an excellent authority, is pretty well contradicted by Mr. Macculloch himself, p. 465. These are the two sentences:—

"Our agriculture is as poor, as ignorant, as in the days of feudalism."—*M. Laffitte*.

"That the condition of the agriculturists of France has, on the whole, considerably improved since the revolution, (1789), *seems certain!*"

It is only by such contradictions that we could be prepared for the statements which

follow, and which really seem selected for the purpose of startling all belief.

1st.—“The effect of the present law fills, and will fill, the country with a wretched population, *destitute of the desire of rising in the world.*”

2nd.—“It is said by the admirers of the French law of succession, that it has introduced peace into families ; that the insolent prerogative of primogeniture being abolished, the children look upon each other as brothers, and entertain the warmest affection for their parents. “*In point of fact, however, it has had a precisely opposite effect.*”

Now, I will ask any Frenchman, Carlist, Louis-Philippist, or Republican, whether two statements more contrary to fact could be made than the two I have quoted ?

What !

“ The French *destitute of the desire of rising in the world !*”

Even M. Girou, in his very able publication from which Mr. Macculloch, though he does not allude to this authority, would seem to have borrowed some of his arguments and opinions—even M. Girou, in his very able publication *against* the division of property, says—“Cela fait que chacun veut vivre comme

il a vécu chez son père :”\* a fair, though not, perhaps, an excessive stimulus to industry ! but without quoting authorities, which on this point would be innumerable, I beg any one to go into a village in France ; what will he see there ?—the peasant devoted to the hope of purchasing a piece of land, or extending that which he possesses.

Into a town of France—what object meets his eyes ? The young adventurer packing up his small bundle and starting for Paris, where he hopes to be minister, as Thiers ; or marshal, as Lannes ; or first consul, as Bonaparte.

Where is the man who goes to the *bureau de la guerre*, and hears of the crowds of volunteers, sixty thousand on one occasion, rushing to the standard of France on the slightest whisper of its being unfurled.—

Where is the man who goes to Paris, and converses with one of the three hundred and forty high public functionaries—with one of the four hundred and ninety persons in the law—with one of the one thousand one hundred and forty members of the Institute and the University—with one of the eighteen thousand four

\* Every one wishes to live as he has lived with his father.

hundred and sixty clerks—with one of the nineteen thousand soldiers—with one of the forty-seven thousand students ; ay, and I will even say, with one of the two hundred and ninety thousand of the working classes in that metropolis,—where is the man, who has ever spoken to any of the persons, forming these vast bodies of active and enterprizing men, who will tell you that the evil from which France at present suffers is, a carelessness to rise in the world ; an indifference to any kind of distinction ?

And now for the peace and affection which the present law has introduced into families ! I will merely say, that one of the effects of this law has been actually a change in the French language. The father formerly said ‘ thou ’ to his son as he did his servant ; the son now uses the singular pronoun to his father as he does his friend.

To any one who knows the force of the singular pronoun in French, the example I give will be sufficient proof of the assertion I fearlessly make ;—viz.—that the most remarkable change *has taken place* since the revolution of 1789, in family intercourse and friendship. Even while I have been writing these pages, numerous instances have occurred within the

circle in which I have been living, of that good will between brothers, which arises from their equality, and that filial confidence, and affectionate familiarity, between parents and their children, which spring naturally from mutual independence.\*

Thus, I have ventured to shew some of the contradictions, and to contradict some of the statements of Mr. Macculloch. I now approach his authorities.

And first, in respect to authorities—when we quote writers, (the writers of another country more especially), it seems to me, that we should observe certain rules—for instance :

We should state the character and weight of the persons from whom we quote.

We should make some allusion to the fact of other writers, of equal character and weight, (if such be the case) being of a contrary opinion.

We should cite no work partially, so as to give an idea that its author is more favorable to our own opinion than he really is.

Now, in none of these respects do I find

\* In some departments, in the Department de la Corrèze for instance, where the custom of favoring the eldest child prevails, the greatest difference is remarkable in the manners of the inhabitants; and feuds are even perpetuated from brothers to their descendants.

Mr. Macculloch so fair and candid as a person of his weight and respectability ought to be.

The principal authorities he cites are :

M. Rainville, secretary to M. de Villèle, a protégé of the Jesuits, and anxious to bring back the old system.

M. de Bonald, a man indeed of ability, but a royal and religious enthusiast.

M. Laffitte, who I think would be found not hostile to the French law of succession, though he may find fault with the backwardness of French agriculture.

The Duc de la Rochefoucault, who rather blames the madness with which land was seized, in the smallest divisions, at a particular period, (the revolution of 89) than the general system of dividing property by bequest under ordinary circumstances.

But give these authorities all the weight you can desire—are there no authorities which counterbalance them?

Monsieur Roy,

„ de Molé,

„ Decazes,

„ Pasquier,

„ de Talleyrand,\*

The most practical, most moderate, and able statesmen in France.

\* See the speech of Mirabeau that he read in the National Assembly against substitutions.

Then Messieurs de Morel Vendé; Charles Dupin;\* Loriol; and a long list of others, who, to use Mr. Macculloch's expression, "might be multiplied to any extent." Are not these more important, as French authorities, in favor of the law of division than any that have been cited against it?

There remain Mr. Birkbeck and Mr. Young, English authorities. Mr. Birkbeck's pamphlet is a very curious one, and resembles greatly Mr. Cobbett's; and now I must notice Mr. Macculloch's first and principal quotation! He cites a long passage, *in proof of the wretched condition of the French*, from pages 34 and 35. At the end of this passage he stops. But is the sentence stopped? No! —the immediate words that follow are, "*yet they (the French) seem happier than we are.*"

\* La division des propriétés qui s'est opérée sur tous les points du territoire, a produit une aisance plus uniformément répandue; elle a donné des moyens de bien-être et de santé à beaucoup de familles qui n'en jouissaient point dans une époque antérieure. D'un autre côté *les progrès* de l'industrie ont procuré du travail à beaucoup d'ouvriers."

P. 43.—Forces Productives et Commerciales.

So again—En contemplant les immenses progrès que la France a fait en agriculture. P. xv. Introduction.

And then continuing, “being much on a level among themselves, and possessing *enough* to supply their temperate wants, *they* feel no degradation. We spend our lives in *painful* endeavours to advance ourselves and our children; having no means of improving their condition, they submit to necessity, and spend their lives contentedly.”

I do not accept Mr. Birkbeck’s opinion as a decisive one—his pamphlet, though able, contains many contradictions; but I say, “Ought any one, quoting one sentence, in proof of the French people being *miserable*, to leave out the next sentence, which says that they are *happy*?” If a people are morally happier by being materially poorer, (the case as stated by Mr. Birkbeck), it is as interesting to the statesman and the legislator to know that this people is happy, as it is to know that this people is poor.

But I just wish persons to see what kind of authority Mr. Birkbeck is, for “the prominent evils in the social condition of the people of France.”

At the very entrance of this gentleman into France, he exclaims at once, p. 5, “*There is more appearance of enjoyment and less of posi-*

*tive suffering than I ever beheld before, or had any conception of.*

P. 11.—“Every object denotes prosperity and comfort. Since I entered the country, I have been looking in all directions for the ruins of France; for the horrible effects of the revolution, of which so much is said on our side of the water; but instead of a ruined country, I see *fields highly cultivated* and towns full of inhabitants.

“No houses tumbling down or empty—no ragged, wretched looking people!

“I have inquired, and every body assures me, that agriculture has been *improving rapidly* for the last twenty-five years; that the riches and comforts of the cultivators of the soil have *been doubled* since that period; and that vast improvement has taken place in the condition and character of the common people. On my *first* landing, I was struck with the respectable appearance of the working class; I see the same marks of comfort and plenty *wherever I proceed*. I ask for the wretched peasantry, of whom I have heard and read so much; but I am always referred to the revolution; it seems they vanished *then.*”

Again—p. 22.

“ The labouring class, here, is certainly *much higher* on the social scale than *with us*. Every opportunity of collecting information, on this subject, confirms my first impression that there are very few really poor people in France. In England, a poor man and a labourer are synonymous terms ; we speak familiarly of *the poor*, meaning *the labouring class* ; not so here.”

But you will say, “ Mr. Birkbeck’s evidence may still be against the division of property, and he may attribute this prosperity to some other evident cause.” Just hearken to the sentence following that I have just quoted !

“ I have now learnt enough to explain this difference ; and having received the *same information* from **EVERY quarter**, there is *no* reason to doubt its correctness.”

“ The national domains, consisting of the confiscated estates of the church, and the emigrant nobility, were exposed to sale during the pecuniary distresses of the revolutionary government, *in small portions*, for the accommodation of the *lowest orders* of purchasers, and five years allowed for completing the payment. This indulgence, joined to the depreciation of assignats, enabled the *poorest description of persons* to become *proprietors*, and such they are *almost*

*universally* ; possessing from one to ten acres.\*

“ And as the education of the poor was sedulously promoted during the early years of the revolution, their great advance in character, as well as *condition*, is *no mystery*.”

P. 30.—From St. Pierre to Moulins—the lower classes appear *less* comfortable ; an old enclosed country, which probably furnished *no small allotments* for the *poor*, on the sale of the national domains.

“ I find, as I suspected *from their appearance*, that *few* of the peasantry here are *proprietors*.”

P. 51. Montpellier.

“ From Dieppe to this place, we have seen scarcely a working animal whose condition was not excellent. Oxen, horses, and now mules and asses, fat and well-looking, but not pampered. This looks like *prosperity*. And when I add that we have not seen, among the labouring people, *one* such famished, worn-out, wretched object, as may be met with in *every parish* of England, I had almost said in *every farm* ; this, in a country so populous, so en-

\* It will be seen that here there is another contradiction in Mr. Macculloch's authorities :—

Mr. Birkbeck gives the very state of things which followed the revolution of 89, (which the Duc de la Rochefoucault spoke of as an evil,) as an advantage.

tirely agricultural, denotes *real prosperity*. Again, from Dieppe to this place, I could not easily point out an acre of waste, a spot of land that is not *industriously* cultivated, though not *always* well, according to our notions.”\*

Will any one believe that this is the writer whom Mr. Macculloch cites in an isolated passage as an authority for “the prominent evils in the social condition of France?” †

\* “France, so peopled, so cultivated, moderately taxed, without paper money, without tithes, without poor-rates, almost *without* poor; with excellent roads in every direction, and overflowing with corn, and wine, and oil, *must* be and *really is* a rich country. *Yet there are few rich individually.*”

† There is, however, in the Appendix to the Second Edition of Mr. Birkbeck’s work, a violent attack upon the abominable regulation of descents, on account of the manner in which it will effect the *next* generation; but not a word in proof of this; nor does it once strike him, in his practical observations previously; it comes as an after suggestion from a correspondent — perhaps Mr. Macculloch himself. But Mr. Birkbeck has here gone upon the vulgar idea, that property will go on, under the French law, indefinitely dividing. I shall shew that such is not the case presently. But what Mr. Macculloch maintains is, that at the time Mr. Birkbeck wrote, the Division of Property had been baleful. He quotes Mr. Birkbeck to prove this, and the whole of Mr. Birkbeck’s book, with the exception of one passage, is notoriously against it.

I proceed to the other English author, on whose opinions we are told to rely.

“ France is threatened to be overpowered, not only with a redundant, but with a potatoe-feeding population,” (p. 480); “ by persevering in this system (the division of property), it will soon exceed the populousness of China, where the putrid carcasses of dogs, cats, rats, and every species of vermin and filth, are sought after with avidity, to sustain the wretches born only to be starved.”

Alas!—for a long time the poor Frenchman has been painted with a frog on his plate—but now he is to eat *all kinds* of filth and vermin!

Is it any consolation to know that this was prognosticated by Mr. Young, upwards of forty years ago? That the system of which he complained, a system which had immemorially prevailed in many parts of France without quite producing those disastrous effects, has not only been persevered in, but enlarged upon since the prophecy was announced. Is this any consolation?

Mr. Macculloch answers, “ No!—if such was Mr. Young’s opinion in 1789—how much more reason would he have for coming to such a conclusion now, when almost all the large

estates, then existing in the country, have been broken up, and the succession of small patches generally regulated by law."

Is Mr. Macculloch right ?\*

There was a philosopher who once predicted that if a comet, which was then making its appearance, were to continue visible for three weeks, it would destroy the world ; the philosopher died, and the comet continued visible for six weeks instead of three, and the world was not burnt. The people, who are ignorant, said, " if the philosopher were alive, he would see he had been mistaken." " Mistaken," said another philosopher, the defunct's friend,

\* Suppose, reader, that you lay it down as a principle that any cause will produce the most deplorable effects. Suppose that cause develops and extends itself prodigiously, and that it produces none of the effects predicted—does it not seem as clear, as that Scotland is on the north side of the Tweed, that your cause having increased, and none of your effects having been produced, that you have greatly exaggerated the influence of your cause ?

If the people of France, instead of eating filth and vermin in 1834, live much better than they did in 1789, and that the land (the terrible division of which was to have driven them to such extremity) has been still more divided, would you, a gloomy prophet in 1789, have been confirmed or shaken in your predictions in 1834 ?

“ my friend predicted that the world would be destroyed if the comet lasted three weeks, how much more reason would he have to declare that the world would be destroyed now, when the comet has lasted six weeks !”

## CHAPTER XIII.

How far Property is likely to go on Dividing—What the Law respecting the Division of Property in France is—Table of Properties subjected to the Land-tax—Checks to Division.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Birkbeck and others have seen no especial evils from the division of property in France, as it exists at present, many, and Mr. Birkbeck among the number, have imagined that enormous evils must necessarily ensue; and this, from falling into the vulgar belief, that land will go on subdividing *ad infinitum*, because the law favours its division. The extent to which the division of land will be carried is probably the most important part of the subject under our consideration.

Now, there are two mistakes, which, in reasoning on the conduct of mankind, we are equally liable to commit.

“ Men are wholly governed by their interest,” say some.—Exaggeration !

“ Men are not governed by their interests,

but by their passions," say others.—Exaggeration!

Men are partly governed by their passions, partly by their interests.—The course which they take is usually a compromise between the two.

"Où il y aura bénéfice à diviser les terres, le morcellement aura lieu, toutefois jusqu'au point *seulement* où son excès donnerait de la perte; et là où il y aura avantage à ne point diviser, ou même à accroître la propriété, la conservation ou l'agglomération se pratiqueront, *et cela tant qu'il y aura bénéfice à le faire.*"\*—*M. de Morel Vendé.*

This is a charming theory; but rather too charming to be precisely true.

"Le morcellement des terres croît en raison géométrique: chez les petits propriétaires, ce mal se fait sentir à la première génération: chacun cependant reste attaché à sa petite fraction de propriété, et se tourmente pour en tirer une chétive subsistance qu'il aurait gagnée avec

\* "Where there is an advantage in dividing land, the division will take place: only, however, to that point where its excess will occasion loss; and there, where it will be advantageous not to divide or even to increase a property, the conservation or the agglomeration will take place."

moins de peine et plus de profit dans une autre profession. Il meurt jeune,\* et ne pouvant vivre, lui et ses enfans de sa propriété, il ravage celle de ses voisins.” †—*M. de Bonald.*

This is a most deplorable picture, which would undoubtedly be correct, if men were wholly indifferent to existence, and the comforts of existence, and likely to submit to hard labour, starvation, and early death, when, by a change of system, they could support themselves happily alive to a good old age.

Property will not cease being divided, just at the moment most advantageous to the pecuniary interest of the proprietor—because he is proud of the possession of property; neither will it go on dividing to an infinite extent—because he is sensible to the necessities of life.

Where the law favours the division of landed

\* His life is increased by at least seven years since the last half century.

† “The division of land increases in geometrical progression. Among the small proprietors, the evil is felt at the first generation; every one, however, remains attached to his little fraction of land, and torments himself in order to derive from it a scanty subsistence, which he would have gained with less pain and more profit in another profession. He dies young, and not being able to live on his own property, despoils that of his neighbours.”

property, it will be divided perhaps more than it ought to be ; but where the law favors the agglomeration of land, it will also be agglomerated more than it ought to be. No system is perfect.

There is, however, this difference between the two systems :—in one case the small proprietor is at once *obliged to abandon* his estate when it ceases to provide for his subsistence ; in the other, the great proprietor is *only warned to decrease* his estate, when his profits diminish.

But let us see what the French law, affecting the disposal of property, really is.

After a parent's death, the property of that parent is to be equally divided among the children, with this exception—that the parent has a right to leave a “*part d'enfant*,” (*i.e.* a child's share,) to any child over and above the portion which would come to that child from equal partition. For instance, if a man has five children he may leave a fifth to the one he prefers ; if three children, a third, if two a double portion.

The effects of this law, are :

1st. To make the child independent of his father's aversion, but expectant from his father's love.

2ndly. To make the parent depend, for the extent of his power, on the extent of his family ;

and as the greatness of the one is measured  
by the smallness of the other, a powerful check  
is created to an overabundant population.

Thus, the same law which provides for  
the support of the child, provides also for the  
authority of the father; and, while it tends to  
the division of property, contains a principle  
intended for its limitation. Nor is this all;  
exactly as the authority of the father requires  
strengthening, the limit to the division of pro-  
perty becomes more strong.

We see then that the law of France possesses,  
even in its letter, a notable provision against  
the mischiefs which it is conceived likely to  
produce. But it is not only in the letter of a  
law that we are to look for its effects—*the  
spirit* of a law, which *diffuses property*, is to  
give a desire to *increase*, and to *retain property*.

The pauper and the beggar have no restraint  
put upon their passions, and they propagate  
their species with the recklessness of men who  
have no hope in the future, and only one present  
pleasure to enjoy. The peasant, who has a  
small piece of land, lives under the increasing  
desire to preserve, to increase, and to transmit  
that land. He receives four acres from his  
father, he toils unceasingly till he can acquire  
eight, and it is not often that he increases his fa-

mily beyond the ratio at which his property has increased.

The increase of population in France has not only been less than the increase of population in the other great countries of Europe;\* it has been less, as I have once before had occasion to observe, than the increase of every other species of power and wealth in France itself.

Annual increase of population :

In Prussia . . . . .	27,027	individuals.
Great Britain . . . . .	16,667	"
Low Countries . . . . .	12,372	"
The Two Sicilies . . . . .	11,211	"
Russia . . . . .	10,527	"
Austria . . . . .	10,114	"
France . . . . .	5,536	"

*Ch. Dupin, p. 35.*

Increase Annual, in—

Population . . . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$
Horses . . . . .	1
Sheep . . . . .	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Consumption indicated by indirect taxation . . . . .	8
Ditto, by octroi	$3\frac{1}{3}$

\* This does not quite accord with Mr. Young's prognostication.

and as the greatness of the one is measured by the smallness of the other, a powerful check is created to an overabundant population.

Thus, the same law which provides for the support of the child, provides also for the authority of the father; and, while it tends to the division of property, contains a principle intended for its limitation. Nor is this all; exactly as the authority of the father requires strengthening, the limit to the division of property becomes more strong.

We see then that the law of France possesses, even in its letter, a notable provision against the mischiefs which it is conceived likely to produce. But it is not only in the letter of a law that we are to look for its effects—*the spirit* of a law, which *diffuses property*, is to give a desire to *increase*, and to *retain property*.

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*Ch. Dupin, p. 35.*

Increase Annual, in—

Population . . . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$
Horses . . . . .	1
Sheep . . . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Consumption indicated by indirect taxation . . . . .	8
Ditto, by octroi	$3\frac{1}{3}$

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*Ch. Dupin, p. 35.*

Increase Annual, in—

Population . . . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$
Horses . . . . .	1
Sheep . . . . .	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Consumption indicated by indirect taxation . . . . .	3
Ditto, by octroi . . . . .	$3\frac{1}{2}$

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indirect taxation . . . . .	3
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## Operations of Industry, as

by patents . . . .	$3\frac{2}{3}$
Circulation, as by post . .	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Commerce, as by Customs .	4
Industry, as by Coal . . .	4
Ditto, by Iron . . . .	$4\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto, by the Press . . .	$2\frac{1}{4}$

—*Ch. Dupin, Intr. xvii.*

Besides, in the law of division resides, to a certain extent, the law of union. If the father gives a portion to his daughter, the son receives a portion with his wife, and as marriages in France are regulated, in some degree, by interest, what goes away on one side returns, in a great measure, on the other.

Among the old nobility who rescued any property from the revolution of 1789, you will usually find that property rather to have augmented than diminished, during the last twenty years.

Among the peasantry who have once obtained any fair portion of property by their toil, you will usually find, not perhaps the identical property which the father possessed, but a property equal to it in the hands of the son.

The cases where property multiplies its divi-

sions are, where many new properties start up, from one large property being sold. But as even in these cases, the persons who purchase land are, for the most part, those who already possess it ; twenty estates are increased to ten that are created.\*

There are many feelings, then, which arise from the disposal of landed property in small divisions, which are in themselves inimical to its indefinite sub-division. There are likewise circumstances directly opposed to such a system of small divisions, which tend to moderate their excess.

Any person travelling over France will observe, though the system of division may not in

\* The high price which such estates, sold in small lots, produce, has led to two false conclusions. Some have quoted this price as a proof that small pieces of land produce the most to the cultivator ; others, as an evidence, that all large estates will soon be sold in small lots. Estates sell for the most part in small lots, because in a country where there are only small fortunes, there can only be competition for small pieces of land.

All large estates will not be sold in small lots, because that passion for property, which will instigate the small proprietor to buy property, beyond its value, induces the large proprietor to keep his property when he can get more than its value for it. Few estates are sold in France, which for some reason or other, are not *obliged* to be sold.

they might even have procured during the time that the debate was continued), evaded the demand, and presented, instead of authentic facts, nothing but vague and desultory observations.

There was one person at that time peculiarly qualified to form a just opinion, upon the subject, as well from the high ministerial situation he had lately filled, as from his peculiar attention to agricultural pursuits, and the political moderation for which he had always been distinguished. In a speech delivered 3rd April, M. Decazes gives, as the result of his own personal and practical experience, facts exceedingly different from those which would be deduced from Mr. Young's and Mr. Macculloch's theory.

“ Chacun de nous pouvait, plus ou moins aisément, se procurer un travail facile pour le gouvernement, plus difficile pour les individus, non pour la totalité de la France mais pour un point particulier qui, une fois connu, servirait d'appréciation pour les autres.

“ Je l'ai fait, Messieurs, en partie pour l'arrondissement qui m'est plus particulièrement connu, et à la prospérité duquel la reconnaissance et tous les sentimens de la nature me commandent de porter un intérêt plus spécial.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ A un petit nombre près, tous les habitans y sont propriétaires. L’amour de la propriété y est poussé au plus haut degré : chez les pères comme chez les enfans ; chez les riches comme chez les pauvres, elle est le sentiment et le besoin dominant.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ Le partage égal des successions y est la règle la plus commune, et la plus générale ; là, comme dans la grande majorité des autres arrondissemens de France, les personnes aisées y disposent rarement de la portion disponible. Les exemples en sont si peu fréquens, que je n’en sais pas un seul autour de moi, dans aucune classe de la société, les paysans exceptés ; et pour ceux-ci, ce n'est pas du préciput entier qu'ils disposent lorsqu'ils le font, mais de telle où telle pièce de terre, de telle ou telle quotité de leur succession ; non par *préférence habituelle*, au profit de leur aîné, mais le plus souvent par *reconnaissance* pour celui de leurs enfans qui est resté auprès d’eux, qui a partagé leurs travaux, *qui a soigné leur vieillesse*.

“ Eh bien ! dans cet arrondissement,” (where the division was most likely to have been excessive) “ *loin qu'il y ait eu morcellement* dans les douze années qui viennent de s’écouler, *il y a eu agglomération*.

“En 1815 le nombre des rôles s'élevait à quarante deux mille et quelques cents ; en 1825, par une diminution annuelle et successive, ce chiffre se réduit à près de quarante mille ; de sorte que l'agglomération en dix ans a été de deux milles côtes environ, ou de deux quarantièmes.

“Je ne prétends pas qu'il en ait été ainsi dans tous les arrondissemens du royaume ; cependant les autres renseignemens isolés, que quelques-uns de nos collègues ont eu la bonté de me fournir, sont loin d'être contraires à l'exemple que je viens de citer.”\*

If I merely wished to have the best of the argument over Mr. Macculloch, I would now quote his own statement, viz., “that in 1816, there were 10,414, 121 taxable properties ; and subjoin, on the authorities of various publicists, the calculation that in 1830 there were about 10,000,200 of such properties.

In the analysis, printed at the beginning of this work, I did give such a calculation derived from the best sources then at my command ; but owing to the kindness of the French ministry of finance, I have since been able to procure a very valuable statement of the changes which have taken place at three different epochs in each department.

\* See Appendix for translation.



		148,438	150,746	156,630
		91,948	93,475	101,621
		137,070	143,805	154,288
		75,422	77,350	83,205
		205,160	221,552	226,086
		211,612	210,220	209,443
		136,971	142,802	149,585
		215,828	226,330	236,883
		179,328	198,131	217,350
es		92,666	91,494	92,167
es		73,316	72,368	77,388
ntales		51,721	48,247	51,490
		204,134	215,635	288,163
		155,808	159,395	171,349
		72,241	82,761	89,531
)		122,627	121,800	128,387
e		135,770	147,194	156,160
		122,049	121,934	124,911
		65,583	65,231	61,327
re		126,403	123,232	132,835
ne		156,129	160,788	172,529
		214,601	224,913	232,500
)		127,998	124,556	128,550
		234,933	243,193	250,856
		84,675	87,282	94,683
ane		82,416	82,986	85,575
		94,782	97,794	103,878
		75,320	75,668	83,273
		103,967	111,022	123,736
		110,548	111,192	119,045
(e)		49,165	52,303	57,947
		134,086	137,809	145,727
		183,067	183,920	184,049
		10,031,238	10,241,243	10,756,074
Corse		52,513	55,450	58,705
		10,083,751	10,296,693	10,814,779

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The annexed table then gives, undoubtedly, a continued increase in the division of land, but it is a very small increase, and such as might be effectually and easily counteracted.

And here we should carefully distinguish between the equal succession of property, which it is impossible—whatever its merits or defects—for the government in France to change, and the system of unnecessarily cutting and clipping up properties, which it is not only possible, but necessary for the government to alter.

P. dies, leaving six fields and three children. Is it necessary, in order that P's children should be equally provided for, that each of P's fields, as it now frequently happens, should be equally cut up?\* Certainly not.

This is a case in which the law might safely interfere, and check a subdivision of the soil, which can only be disadvantageous, without affecting the division of fortunes, which is accompanied by many advantages.

Besides, a wise remission of the stamp duty

\* "Dans les Basses Pyrénées on arrange facilement les partages, et il y a peu de morcellement.—Dépt. du Var.

Le morcellement est créé par le désir de chacun d'avoir une pièce de chaque espèce de terre."—*Rapport des Géomètres en chef du cadastre*.

on such deeds as were required for the consolidation of small properties, would, of itself, tend greatly to destroy those extraordinary cases of subdivision, which sometimes exist from the law exacting more on the sale of a patch of ground than it is worth to the purchaser.

Again, many of the evils to be complained of at present seem likely to decrease, not only from the enlargement of estates, if estates enlarge; but from other causes, if the division of land remain, as I believe it will do, much what it is.

As the peasant becomes more intelligent, he will better understand the nature of his property, and the force of his means. Instead of widening the enclosure of his field, he will deepen the richness of its surface, and if he is sometimes, at present, rather induced to add to his little spot of ground than to improve it, in proportion to the extent of his error, will be the beneficial result of his experience. Moreover, the experiments which individuals are incapable of attempting, it is the duty, and will probably be the object, of the public administration to undertake.

At present there are two experimental farms supported by the government with this intention, and the number should be so increased as

to apply to the different variations of soil, climate, and vegetation.

Let us take then all these circumstances into consideration :—

The small increase in the number of properties, during the last thirty years, under every circumstance most favorable to their increase—

The possibility of checking such increase by easy and paternal legislation, which would not affect the existing law of succession—

The circumstances which, if the division of land remain as it is, or were even to progress, would diminish the evils attendant upon it—

Let us take, I say, all these circumstances into consideration, and I think we shall allow, that whatever may be the evil naturally resulting from the anti-primogenital law of France, it is not likely to be greater twenty years hence than it is at the moment at which I am now writing.

## CHAPTER XIV.

It is the present state of France that we have to consider without fears for the future, in respect to this question—Folly of comparisons between France and England, and France and Ireland—A small Lessee different from a small Proprietor—A bad system of agriculture made, by energy, a good one—More persons occupied on Land by its Division than there need be—Population made more agricultural—Manufacturing Populations considered—Difference between the course to be pursued in England, and advice to be given to France.

IT is, then, the present state of prosperity in France that we have to consider, with a judgment no longer under the influence of that terrible hobgoblin of indefinite subdivision by which we have been perpetually alarmed as to the future.

Those who contend against the existing state of property in that country, begin by telling you that in England landed property is agglomerated; in France landed property is divided;—that England is better cultivated than France, and that therefore the agglomeration of landed property is better for agriculture than the division.

I need hardly say, that it is impossible

to derive any accurate result from a mere comparison between England and France.

The more extensive a country is, the more variety it admits in language, character, and habits, the more it is deprived of natural and artificial communications, the less likely is it to adopt and circulate improvements.

\* See Appendix for translation.

France is more extensive than England, admits more varieties in language, character, and habits, is less amalgamated by natural and artificial communications ; it is consequently less likely to adopt and circulate improvements. Whatever difference, therefore, exist between the agricultural state of England and France, it is absurd to attribute the whole of that difference to the different system of succession in the two countries.

Besides, when we speak of the different state of agriculture in England and France, we must not forget that agriculture has been encouraged, in the first, by an immense premium, more especially during the war ; and that it has moreover owed much to the habits of speculation and expenditure springing from an extensive commerce, which, though not entirely independent of our law of inheritance, are certainly not incorporate with it.

But, if a comparison between England and France is of little value, a comparison between England and Ireland is still more absurd. Poor Ireland ! if any body wants to shew that this or that is pernicious to a state, away he speeds to you for an example.

“ See what Catholicism produces,” says the Protestant ;—“ look at—Ireland !”

“ See what an established church produces,” says the dissenter ;—“ look at—Ireland !”

“ See what a centralized legislation produces,” says the repealer ;—“ look at Ireland !”

“ See what the want of a provision against mendicity produces,” says the poor-law-system-man ;—“ look at—Ireland !”

“ See what the division of land produces,” says Mr. Macculloch ;—“ look at Ireland !”

Unhappy monopolist of misfortune—too true is it—my poor sister country, that we may always turn to you for a calamity !

But alas ! if we wish for admonition, let us look for it, not in any part of your condition, but the whole. The slightest scratch becomes a gangrene, when the blood of all the body is corrupt ; and it is ridiculous to talk of the effects of one mischief in a state of society, which is travailed by every mischief under the sun.

What system of agriculture, I should like to know, would flourish in a nation planted by hostile races, and severed by contending creeds ; amongst a people perpetually engaged in plots and pillage ? If the same system of agriculture prevailed in France and in Ireland, the effects of the system would be different, as in every other respect the two countries differ. But the

same system does not prevail, and never did prevail.

A small lessee is not the same person as a small proprietor; the system of subdivided leases has all the evils, and none of the advantages, of a system of subdivided properties—There is a charm in the word “own” which awakens all our prudence, and stimulates all our exertions.

Let us have no comparisons, then, between France and England, or Ireland and France.

There are reasons of themselves sufficient, not that agriculture should deteriorate, but that it should not improve so much as it otherwise might do, under the law of inheritance established and popular in France.

The more property is divided, the more space is occupied by inclosures; the more property is divided, the more space is occupied by paths and roads, by which the different parcels of land are to be approached; the more property is divided, the less liberty exists in respect to crops; you must plant at the same time as your neighbours, for you cannot traverse his ground after his crop is sown; the more property is divided, the less means are afforded for accelerating production by cattle and machines; the more property is divided, the less

chance is there of any person being able to indulge in those speculations, by which, if the fortune of the individual be sometimes injured, the industry of the country is almost always improved.

These are general facts composing a theory, which as a theory it would be very difficult to refute; but does it realize the expectations it should give rise to—in the case before us?

According to this theory, wherever there is a very large property, land ought to be much better cultivated than it is upon a very small one—and yet—make the comparison in France, and you will generally find—as I have said is the case in Normandy—that the very small property is, to say the least, as well cultivated as the very large one.

According to this theory, the more the soil of France has been divided, the worse the soil of France ought to be cultivated, and yet with the division of the soil in France, has advanced the art of cultivation.\*

It is not that the division of property itself is favorable to the cultivation of land, but that

\* "L'aisance est beaucoup plus grande dans toutes les classes, les consommations se sont accrues dans une plus grande proportion que la population."—*M. Dombasle.*

it is, and has been accompanied by circumstances more than sufficient to counterbalance the disadvantages likely to proceed from it.

In the first place, we must not forget that, with the distinction of a great landed aristocracy, was destroyed, beyond the possibility of revival, all those feudal privileges and disastrous imposts under which France, before the revolution, was weighed down.

In the second, we must remember that every thing in a country is affected by the presiding spirit of a country ;—the individual receives a magnetic force from the impulse that is affecting the community. *In a democracy of property, the poor proprietor has an energy which the great proprietor wants.*

Among any people, this would be the case ; but particularly among the French ; for among the French, the division of property has given, to an old and powerful passion, a new and profitable vent.

Through the dark streets of Paris rattled the emblazoned coach, and along the broad road to Versailles, behold ! the splendidly liveried and the gaily caparisoned equipages of the embroidered and brocaded court !

\* \* \* \* \*

How was the vanity of the great proprietor

displayed? in the wanton and extravagant expenditure of his property! How is the vanity of the small landed proprietor displayed? in the daily and difficult accumulation of his property! The law of equal succession may not have created a new sentiment, but it has engaged, I repeat, an ancient one in a new direction. The small proprietor, in defiance of many rules which condemn him to increasing poverty, struggles on to increasing wealth; his land, which should be badly cultivated, is well cultivated, because it is cultivated with passion. If he ought not to be able to manure it, he does manure it, because he dreams, he lives, he breathes, for it; because he collects every little bit of dung and turns every little bit of bone to advantage. He rises at four o'clock to cultivate his own strip of ground, when he would not rise till six to cultivate the ground of a master. All his energies are developed in a bad system of agriculture, and thus it becomes a good one.

I do not mean to say that France is so well cultivated as England—it is not even so well cultivated as it might be—still it is far better cultivated than any mere agricultural theory would induce us to suppose.

“ But by the division of the land more

persons are occupied on it than are necessary for its cultivation."

I grant it:—an estate in the possession of one proprietor may be properly farmed by ten persons; but if this estate were divided into fifteen properties, it would occupy fifteen persons, and not be better cultivated either.—The labour of five persons then is lost.

The population does not produce as much as it might do—this is the fault!

A beggar was taken up the other day as a vagabond. "How do you gain your livelihood?" said the magistrate; "By my epilepsy, please your honor," said the beggar.

There are countries which live in the same manner; which draw their power, their riches, their force from the convulsions into which they are thrown by a peculiar constitution.

The disease is profitable; but it is still a disease.

The greater the amount of the population in every country, which depends wholly for existence upon the labour it does for others, the greater struggle will there be among that population to sustain an uncertain existence; and the greater effort the country will make in every industry by which capital is to be increased, and labour employed.

A people in this situation will become more energetic—more enterprising—more productive—more restless—more laborious—yet, dark by the side of the picture which exhibits the riches and activity, will come forth the table that displays the crimes, and the misery of the population; and the legislator will find that he has not merely to consider how a nation may be made most wealthy, but how the pursuit of wealth may be made most accordant with morality, and its distribution most compatible with enjoyment.

If it were only necessary to consider the riches of a country, in order to consult the prosperity of a people, what would be the case?

The revenue of England is about 550 millions. The revenue of France 320 millions.

The revenue of England then, is, in respect to its population, double the revenue of France;—but will any one pretend to say that the great mass of the people are twice as well off?

Turn to M. Villeneuve's calculation!

One *twentieth* of the population (*i. e.* 1,600,000 in 32,000,000) he reckons as "*poor*," in France.

One *sixth* of the population (*i. e.* 3,900,000 in 23,400,000) as poor, in England!!!

Has this pauperism been diminishing?

From official tables laid before the House of Commons, it appears

1801, Population of England, 8,331,434,  
 1831, ditto 13,009,338,  
*i. e.* the population increased about one-third.

But during this time there has taken place a great difference in the value of money, and there has also been a reduction of taxation in many of the common articles of subsistence.

Prices in March, 1814, and in March, 1834,

	<i>per lb.</i>		<i>per lb.</i>
Moist Sugar, . . . 15d.	„	7½d.	
Candles . . . . 15	„	6½	
Pork . . . . 15	„	7	
	<i>per lb.</i>		<i>per lb.</i>
Soap . . . . 15	„	6½	
Butter . . . . 18	„	12	
Cheese . . . . 10	„	8	
Lard . . . . 13	„	8	
Salt, per bushel 21s.	„	2s. 9d.	

Moreover we must note an extraordinary improvement, especially of late years, that every one practically acquainted with the subject will allow—in the administrative economy of the poor. If then pauperism had increased

in an equal ratio with population (*i. e.* by a third), the same sum which was applied to it in 1801 would more than suffice in 1831.

Is this so?—

1801	.	.	.	3,869,504
1831	.	.	.	6,509,466

Pauperism, then, instead of costing nearly as much as in 1801, costs nearly double, and has consequently increased in a ratio of 3 to 1 faster than population. But at the very time that the poverty of the country has been making this frightful advance, its riches have been increasing in an equal degree. The exportation of manufactured goods,

In 1803	.	.	£22,252,102
1831	.	.	60,090,123

“Ay;” I may be told—“the poverty has been increasing in one part of the country, and the riches in the other.”

Let us see! we will first take the three most important commercial and manufacturing districts, in two of which wealth has more than quadrupled within the thirty years I have been referring to,—has poverty decreased?

In Lancashire :		<i>Poor rates.</i>
In 1801, the poor rates amounted to £.	148,282	
1831	.	293,226

## In Middlesex :

In 1801	.	.	.	.	.	£.	349,200
1831	.	.	.	.	.		681,567

## In Nottinghamshire :

In 1801	.	.	.	.	.	£.	44,220
1831	.	.	.	.	.		72,717

Now let us turn to the agricultural districts ! The agriculture of England is more advanced than the agriculture of France ; and the more perfect agricultural system employs a smaller number of hands than the less perfect one.

And what is the state of the agricultural population in England ? What is their state in Norfolk, where agriculture is, perhaps, brought to the greatest perfection ? I could appeal to an able pamphlet, written by a practical man,\* which declares, that unless extensive alteration take place, the utter annihilation of all property will be the consequence of the accumulation of useless poverty.

But if I follow the same test I have hitherto adopted, a test which, though not perfectly accurate, is sufficiently so to justify the line of argument I am pursuing. If I follow this test in three agricultural counties—

\* Mr. Richardson, of Heydon.

	1801.	1831.
Norfolk	£. 169,733	299,357
Essex	137,140	272,593
Kent*	206,508	345,512

*Increase of crime in these six counties :*

	1820.	1831.
Lancashire	1,963	2,352
Middlesex	2,773	3,514
Nottingham	251	316
Norfolk	382	549
Essex	269	607
Kent	520	640

Looking then at those counties where, in two different lines, the principle of producing most by the smallest quantity of labour has been carried to its greatest perfection—the experiment, as far as the happiness and virtues of the people are concerned, does not seem to have been completely successful.

* Increase of population in	1801.	1831.
Nottingham	140,350	225,320
Lancashire	672,731	1,336,854
Middlesex	818,129	1,358,541
Norfolk	169,733	299,357
Essex	137,140	272,593
Kent	206,508	345,512

But one of the great objections to the division of landed property is, that it swells the amount of the agricultural population.

“It should be remembered,” says Mr. Macculloch, mournfully, “that the possession of a small piece of ground gives a feeling of independence to a small capitalist and a poor man, which he cannot otherwise experience.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“The occupiers of small pieces of ground though *uniformly almost* (singular expression!) in a less comfortable situation than journeymen tradesmen, are still nevertheless the objects of their envy.”—

Terrible thing! the occupiers of small pieces of ground are the object of envy to journeymen tradesmen who get more to eat; and the proprietor actually values the independence of his situation as much as the goodness of his meal.

Terrible thing! a rural life is more agreeable than a manufacturing one; and people may be induced, even when they do not gain so much by it, “to gratify this natural inclination.”

If independence be an object of envy—if a life spent among green fields, and nourished by pure air, be more natural to the perverse inclinations of man than the additional three-half-pence a day, which he may gain by having no

independence, which he might procure amidst the putrid atmosphere of a dark and crowded workshop in the pent city—

“ Woe and desolation !” exclaims the disappointed philosopher.—“ Had I been God Almighty,” said Sir Godfrey Kneller, “ how much more beautiful should have been the sons and the daughters of the earth !”—“ Had I been God Almighty,” says Mr. Macculloch, “ how much wiser should have been the generation of men !—none should have been visited by the miserable thought, that there was any joy in the fair sunshine, health in the fresh breeze, or happiness in the humble cottage ! Had I been God Almighty, no one should have envied a man his unfortunate independence, or believed that there was any thing worth having, save that additional three-halfpence, which the journeyman tradesman is so ridiculous as not to prize above every other consideration upon earth.”

And so, in all discussions which take place in England on the corn laws, on free trade, on the agglomeration of landed property, it is taken by one party, the party to which I more especially belong, as an incontrovertible maxim that, if we would confine our population exclusively to towns and to manufactures, the

nation must necessarily profit most considerably, because it would produce more.

I remember a gentleman, a person, moreover, for whose good opinion I have much respect, exclaiming in the House of Commons, that he wondered how I, whom he was kind enough to call his enlightened friend, could be of a different opinion.

My opinion, however, if I may presume to have one, is, that a nation does not always profit most considerably when it produces most; my opinion is, that even England, though especially a commercial and manufacturing community, has other sources of greatness besides such as are to be found in her commerce and manufactures, and that benefits have actually their bounds, which it may become dangerous and impolitic to pass.\*

I see the advantage of collecting a population into towns, but I see also the dis-

\* A country is no more powerful and great solely on account of its wealth, than it is happy only on that account; it is powerful and great for the energy and the character which the pursuit of wealth creates, but that pursuit must be properly directed to the character that is to be produced; and if less riches are attained where nobler passions are developed, poor is the spirit of the legislator who sets any dignity above that of the mind.

advantages; and those disadvantages I should dread, if any unlimited system was to be worked out to an extravagant extent.

I look not merely to the momentary production, but to the health and happiness and character of a people, on which, let us rest assured, depend a nation's permanent prosperity.

#### FACTS AS TO THE UNHEALTHINESS OF MANUFACTURING TOWNS.

“ He, whose duty it is,” says Dr. Kay, in speaking of the visitation of the cholera, “ to follow the steps of this messenger of death, must descend to the abodes of poverty, must frequent the close alleys, the crowded courts, the overpeopled habitations of wretchedness, *where pauperism and disease congregate round the source of social discontent and political disorder in the centre of our large towns, and behold with alarm in the hot-bed of pestilence, ills that fester in secret, at the very heart of society.*”

“ There are a few incontrovertible facts,” says Dr. Robertson, “ not adverted to perhaps by the secluded political writer, but which, those who mingle in the busy world of a vast manufacturing community will

scarcely refuse to admit. One of these is, that sedentary and other occupations, which wholly exclude the artisan, at all seasons, and from a very early age, from the pure air and the green face of nature, generally give rise to some degree of derangement of the health, manifested primarily in the stomach and bowels, and also render the mind torpid and irritable: further, that this uncomfortable condition of body and mind, existing in almost every individual of great masses of people, crowded together in factories, and in the narrow streets and yards, where they have their habitations, is apt gradually to increase and to be aggravated by the very means but too commonly adopted to obtain relief: which are, habitual or frequent drunkenness, the stimulus of crude and fantastical politics, the still stronger stimulus of riot and uproar, and not unfrequently, as the recent annals of our country unhappily attest, of savage or malignant crime."

The state of the cotton manufacturers has occupied the attention of Parliament since 1802, when the late Sir R. Peel obtained an act of parliament for the protection of parish apprentices employed in them.

In 1819, the hours of labour, and the

ages of children working in cotton mills was first regulated, and since that time, up to 1831, four other acts passed, having in view the same object.

The irremedial circumstances of this occupation are, in themselves, melancholy to consider. The small particles of cotton and dust with which the air is impregnated in such factories, almost necessarily maintain a perpetual irritation of the lungs, which leads frequently to consumption.

Add to this, meagre food, a sickly appetite craving excitement, and toil of so unvarying and unremitting a kind, as almost to extinguish in the cotton weaver the habits and faculties of a man.”\*

\* “ When we consider the unremitting labour of the whole population engaged in the various branches of the cotton manufacture, our wonder will be less excited by their fatal demoralization.

“ Prolonged and exhausting labour, continued from day to day, and from year to year, is not calculated to develope the intellectual or moral faculties of man. The dull routine of ceaseless drudgery, in which the same mechanical process is incessantly repeated, resembles the torment of Sisyphus,—toil, *like the rock, recoils perpetually on the wearied operative.* The mind gathers neither stores nor strength from the constant extension of the muscles. The intellect slumbers in supine inertness, but the grosser parts of our nature obtain a rank development.

Turn to other trades, what a frightful picture of toil !

“ To condemn men to such severity of toil, is in some measure, *to cultivate in him the habits of an animal*. He becomes reckless. He disregards the distinguishing appetites and habits of his species. He lives in squalid wretchedness, on meagre food, and expends his superfluous gains in debauchery.

“ The population employed in the cotton factories rises at five o'clock in the morning ; works in the mills from six till eight o'clock, and returns home, for half an hour or forty minutes, to breakfast. This meal generally consists of tea or coffee, with a little bread. Oatmeal porridge is sometimes, but of late rarely used, and chiefly by the men ; but the stimulus of tea is preferred, and especially by the women. The tea is almost always of a bad, and sometimes of a deleterious quality ; the infusion is weak, and little or no milk is added. The operatives return to the mills and workshops until twelve o'clock, when an hour is allowed for dinner. Amongst those who obtain the lower rates of wages, this meal generally consists of boiled potatoes. The mess of potatoes is put into one large dish ; melted lard and butter are poured upon them, and a few pieces of fried fat bacon are sometimes mingled with them, and but seldom a little meat. They all plunge their spoons into the dish, and with an animal eagerness satisfy the cravings of their appetite. At the expiration of the hour, they are all again employed in the workshops or mills, where they continue until seven o'clock or a later hour, when they generally again indulge in the use of tea, often mingled with spirits accompanied by a little bread.

Hours of labour of other trades than cotton spinning, in which children are employed, in conjunction with adults (delivered in and proved on oath in the House of Lords, in 1818 and 1819, and inserted in Appendix to Evidence)—34.

Earthenware and porcelain.	Staffordshire and Derby.	Boys employed at 8 years of age . . . . .	12 to 15 hours daily.
Iron works, forges, and mills.	Warwickshire & Staffordshire.	Begin at 8 years . . . . .	12 hours daily, and in alternate weeks 12 hours <i>nightly</i> .
Collieries	• . . . .	Children employed from 9 to 10 years old.	12 hours daily, <i>under ground</i> .
Glass trade	Warwickshire & Staffordshire.	Employ <i>chiefly</i> children . . . . .	12 hours daily—or 12 hours <i>nightly</i> .
Wire card makers	Halifax	• . . . .	12 to 13 hours daily.
Watch makers	Coventry	• . . . .	12 hours daily in winter, 14 in summer.
Pin makers	• . . . .	Employ younger children than the cotton mills of that place.	14 hours daily.
Needle makers	Gloucester	• . . . .	13 hours daily.
Manufacturers of arms.	Birmingham	Children begin from 7 to 9 years old.	13 hours daily.

Hours of labour of other trades than cotton spinning, in which children are employed, in conjunction with adults (delivered in and proved on oath in the House of Lords, in 1818 and 1819 and inserted in Appendix to Evidence)—34.

Worsted mills	Leeds	13 hours daily.
Ditto	Manchester	14 hours daily.
Flax mills	Leeds	13 hours daily.
Hosiery.	Leicester	12 hours in winter, 13 in summer.
Ditto	Nottingham	15 hours daily.
Ditto	Mansfield	Employ a great number of children Hours longer than in any cotton mill in that neighbourhood.
Lace manufactory	Ditto	Children employed as soon as they can use the needle.
Lace manufactory	Nottingham	Children employed at 7 years old, and upwards.
Ditto	Tiverton	12 hours daily.
Silk mills	Nottingham	14 hours daily.
Ditto	Congleton	13 hours daily.
		Employ near 2,000 children, of whom the <i>greater part</i> are children from 5 years upwards.

Hours of labour of other trades than cotton spinning, in which children are employed, in conjunction with adults (delivered in and proved on oath in the House of Lords, in 1818 and 1819, and inserted in Appendix to Evidence)—34.

Draw-boy weaving.	Paisley	Children from 7 years old, upwards, extensively employed as drawers to weavers.	15 hours daily.
Cotton weavers, by hand.	Lancashire, York-shire, Cheshire, &c. Glasgow	Children at all ages work the same hours as adults.	14 to 16 hours daily.
Draw-boy, weaving.		In one village, near 1,000 children from 8 to 12 years old, are employed. Girls begin at 10 years old	Till 11 or 12 at night, or even till one in the morning. *
Worsted mills	Norwich		14 hours daily, part of the people all night.
Calico printing	Lancashire, Cheshire, York-shire, &c. Halifax	Boys employed from 8 years old	12 to 14, 15, and 16 hours daily, & sometimes all night.
Worsted mills			14 to 15, and 16 hours daily, & sometimes all night.

Are we to wonder that the proportion of deaths to the population in Lancashire is 1 to 55—greater than in any other county of England,—excepting Warwick (52); Surrey (52); Kent (50); and Middlesex (47);—and considerably above the average of England, which is 1 in 58.)—that in Manchester, it is 1 in 45, and in Glasgow something more? But this system of calculating, is one the most favourable to manufactures, because persons of a healthy habit die frequently in the country, when attacked by acute disease from the want of prompt attendance.

“In manufacturing towns, the case is widely different.” (I quote a very remarkable pamphlet published in 1831, called “Enquiry into the state of the manufacturing population.”) Few, if any, die from want of medical assistance. They are supplied with every aid which skill or charity can bestow; but the diseases which prevail are of a nature which, *without suddenly destroying life or even shortening it materially, deprive it of health or enjoyment, and render it little else than a CHRONIC MALADY.*

Who, living in the neighbourhood of our manufacturing establishments, has not seen *children entering them at ten or twelve years of age with the beaming eye, the rosy cheek, and the elastic step of youth; and then losing the gaiety and*

*light-heartedness of early existence*, and the colour and complexion of health, and the vivacity of intellect, and the insensibility to care, which are the natural characteristics of that tender age under the withering influence of laborious confinement, ill oxygenated air and unwholesome diet?

Nor is it only the children brought up in health who are inoculated with disease; others receive this malediction from their birth.

The mothers who are employed from home, are obliged to put out their infants to nurse, where the cries of those wretched little beings are stopped by opium, and their diseases aggravated by spirituous liquors.\*

I have dwelt thus long upon the health of a manufacturing population, because it seems a fact generally overlooked. I would now call attention to their conduct.

In the course of my enquiries on this sub-

\* The quantity of opium which, from habit, some children become capable of taking, is almost incredible, and the effects are correspondingly destructive. Even when the infants have a healthy appearance at birth, they almost uniformly become, in a few months, puny and sickly in their aspect, and very large numbers fall victims to bronchitis, hydrocephalus, etc.

Gin also is given to infants, in a manner certain to increase the disease, when they complain of those pains in their stomachs, which unhealthy diet has produced.—

*Dr. Kay.*

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ject, I have met with two or three tables, laboriously compiled, and quoted from many authorities, the names of which are respectable.

I should have given them, for they proved what I do not doubt, viz.—that a far greater number of crimes, more especially crimes against property, are perpetrated in the manufacturing than in the agricultural countries of Europe. But strange to say, on referring to such official documents as were within my reach, though I came speedily to the same result as the tables in question, I hardly found one of their figures correspond with those before me. There is, in general, I believe, much guess-work in the framing of those imposing-looking statistics, which are meant at once to settle the doubting reader.

Common sense is here better than any arithmetical rhetoric ; and all the principles of human nature will tell us, that men congregated into great multitudes, surrounded by objects of ease and luxury—a contrast to their own poverty—acquiring, amidst their sedentary pursuits, some knowledge, but receiving, in the present state of society, no corresponding moral education ; undergoing perpetual alterations from high wages to low, and having their wants regulated, therefore, by no fixed means of supply, must, of all persons, be most likely to acquire habits of thieving and peculation.

The facts published by the Board of Trade lead us to the same conclusion.

Taking the six counties I have already named:

1831.		Manufacturing			Population
Lancashire	Middlesex	Crimes	Population	Crimes	
		1	in 488	or 6,182	in 2,920,715
Essex					
Kent		1	in 510	or 1,796	in 917,462
Norfolk					

But discard Norfolk (a doubtful county) and take:

MANUFACTURING COUNTRIES.

1831.	Crimes.	Population.	Average.
Cheshire	513	834,410	
Lancashire	2,352	1,336,856	
Middlesex	3,514	1,358,541	
Northumberland	108	222,912	
Nottingham	316	225,320	
Stafford	644	410,483	
Warwick	655	336,988	
York	127	1,167,288	
Total	9,382	5,292,796	

AGRICULTURAL COUNTIES.

Berkshire	291	145,289	
Essex	607	317,237	
Hertford	194	143,341	
Kent	640	479,155	
Hampshire	567	814,813	
Westmoreland	17	55,041	
Wiltshire	568	339,181	
Devonshire	399	494,168	
Total	3,289	2,287,725	

I lay far greater stress, however, upon the opinion which that intelligent gentleman at our Home Office, Mr. Capper, so conversant with this subject, has decidedly expressed to me, than from any such necessarily imperfect calculation\* as that I have gone into—I lay

\* The best authority we have for the number of crimes committed, is the number of committals which cannot be perfectly accurate, nor have we officially published any

far greater stress also upon the vices which all who have observed our manufacturing districts have remarked, which vices must at once be the parents and offspring of crime.

Drunkenness, then, seems a vice habitual among most manufacturing populations, and is even in a certain degree excusable, inasmuch as it proceeds from the debility, and the necessity for stimulants, attendant upon much confinement.

Neither is it astonishing,—where both sexes are addicted to drink, in a continued state of unnatural irritation, and promiscuously brought, at a very early age, into daily communion—that the senses should be marked by an early and sterile excitement.

“The fact,” says our inquirer,\* “undoubtedly is, that the licentiousness which prevails among the dense population of manufacturing towns, is carried to a degree appalling consecutive statement year by year, or for a number of years taken together, of crime and population.

\* And in addition to overt acts of vice, there is a coarseness and grossness of feeling, and an habitual indecency of conversation, which, we would fain hope and believe, are not the prevailing characteristics of our country. The effect of this, upon the minds of the young, will readily be conceived; and is it likely that any instruction, or education, or Sunday schools, or sermons, can counteract the baleful influence, the contagion of this moral depravity which reigns around them!—

*Inquiry into the state of the manufacturing population.*

to contemplate, baffling all statistical inquiries, and to be learned only from the testimony of personal observers."

Such are the habits of our manufacturing towns, not sketched by me, but by persons long and well acquainted with them.

But let me draw a concluding picture!

There is somewhere in the world, a city where—

*One half* of the inhabitants are so utterly destitute, as to have their offspring brought into the world by the aid of public charity.

Three fourths of the inhabitants so sickly as to be under medical treatment.

The cases of charitable relief, in this city, doubled in four years, and in a population of 142,026, the acts of parochial relief, each continued through an indefinite period of time, were 321,172.

Here, in 687 streets inspected, 248 were unpaved, 53 partially paved, 112 ill-ventilated, 352 containing heaps of refuse, stagnant pools, ordure, etc. etc.

Here, in 6951 houses inspected, 960 wanted repair, 1435 were damp, 452 ill-ventilated, 2569 wanted white-washing.

The houses of the poor sometimes sur-

round a common area, into which the windows and doors open at the back of the building.

Porkers, who feed pigs in the town, often contract with the inhabitants to pay some small sum for the rent of their area which is immediately covered with pig-sties, and converted into a dung-heap and receptacle of the pestilent garbage upon which the animals are fed, as also of the refuse which is now heedlessly flung into it from all the surrounding dwellings. The offensive odour which sometimes arises from these areas cannot be conceived.

Add to this !

One privy on an average to 250 persons ; and 430 gin-shops among a people thus reduced by sickness, pauperism, and filth.

“ I observed,” says a person, residing on this spot, “ the number of persons entering ONE of these (gin) shops in five minutes during eight successive Saturday evenings, and at various periods from seven till ten ; the average result was 112 men and 163 *women*, or 275 in forty minutes, which is equal to 415 per hour.

“ It is painful to know that *children* and young *girls* are initiated into this fatal practice at a very early age.”

Now what town am I describing? What part of the world am I alluding to? Where is this wretched haunt of loathsome misery and vice?

Let us visit it! we shall see commerce gathering into her storehouses the produce of every clime; and industry, toiling with indefatigable zeal, to surpass in wealth all the nations of the world. The city I have been describing is *Manchester*—one of the first manufacturing cities in the first manufacturing country in the universe!

You may tell me that this is a necessary sacrifice of human happiness to human grandeur, and that our nation would never have been so powerful, but for the incessant labour of its people.

I acknowledge it, as I acknowledge that the pyramids would never have been built, if the race of Egypt had not been slaves.

But you may tell me that the vices of a system are not necessarily compatible with its existence, and that the great mass of the English need not be so miserable a race, yet that England might remain the mart of the world.—I acknowledge it; and I might say in England, do not change your system but make every endeavour to destroy its defects! still I own, that seeing such a system in England,

loaded with such defects, I should pause before I told France, in the stern voice of imperative philosophy, to imitate the course we had pursued.

There is a great difference in preserving what exists by amelioration, and changing what is good in the hope of improvement.

I remember to this day a picture which hung up over the door of my little study at Harrow, the picture of a very robust and corpulent couple, in consultation with a quack doctor.

“What’s the matter, my friend?” says the pharmacopolist. “Why Sir, we eats very well—we drinks very well—we sleeps very well; but somehow or other, we feels very querish.” “Ha! Ha!—you eat very well—you drink very well—you sleep very well.—I’ll give you something, good people, that will take away all those disagreeable symptoms.”

I wish I had this picture before me now; I would venture to send it with my very humble compliments to some one of the gentlemen whose voyages I have had occasion to notice, or if I might take so great a liberty, I would present it, most respectfully, to Mr. Macculloch himself.

There is something really too absurd in the

calm and decided way with which we tell a people, whom we confess to be decently well off, that if they did but know it, they are in the most melancholy condition,

Nor is this all ; although I believe, with the persons from whom I have largely quoted, that many of the evils I have observed, as existing amongst ourselves, are capable of a remedy, I yet believe that there are certain evils we must be content to submit to.

A manufacturing population will be more liable to those physical complaints which, in affecting the digestive organs, create at once a disposition to discontent and to drink : it will then, under equal influences of education, be more liable to moral depravity and to political agitation : its lot also, more exposed to local fluctuations, is more difficult to reconcile to stable legislation.

“ *Dejà*,” said M. Pasquier, 29th March 1826, “ on en a subi dans ce pays (l’Angleterre) des conséquences qui méritent de fixer l’attention des législateurs et des hommes d’état. Pour qui-conque ne se dissimule pas de combien de chances sont entourés les travaux manufacturiers, il est permis de n’être pas sans inquiétude, à la longue, sur le sort d’une masse aussi considérable d’individus auxquels une guerre mal-

heureuse, ou une habile rivalité peuvent enlever presque subitement la plus grande partie de son existence—”

But if a country like England, occupied by a race, slow of disposition, and capable of much endurance—if such a country has any thing to fear from a large manufacturing population—what would be the case in France?

Evoke the events of Lyons! See a people impatient of suffering, eager of hope, careless of consequences, fighting in every house, barricading every street, and signalizing each disastrous epoch of commercial speculation, by a political revolution or revolt!

Besides, with the manufactures of England is, in a certain degree, connected the naval power of England, and we, the children of an isle, my countrymen, must be great as a naval nation.

But if we are destined to carry to new lands the cares and interests of civilization—we, whose home is on the ocean,—another fate is attached to the people, who have to defend those interests on yonder continent.

What the English are, as a maritime people, the French are as a military people—and shew me the successful army which was not drafted from an agricultural population!

Besides : The division of landed property, in attaching to the soil a large proportion of the inhabitants of France, not only makes good soldiers, but makes good soldiers of good citizens.

The recruit who leaves his father's cot for the camp, returns from the camp to cultivate his own field ; he does not readily lend himself to the government against the nation, because he is part of the nation.

“Avec une plus grande division des propriétés, l'esprit de propriétaire se répand nécessairement dans une plus grande portion de la société— ;”\* the labouring classes, elsewhere denounced as the lovers of change, become here the protectors of order ; and to the warrior uprises an interest not inferior to that of his sword.

A country of proprietors may know many transitions, but it can know no convulsions : and when the revolution of 1830, differed from that of 1789, it was because the one was a revolution of paupers—the other a revolution of proprietors.

\* M. Pasquier.

## CHAPTER XV.

Though the example of France may not be a wise one for all countries to imitate, it appears a wise one for her to have adopted—The Law of Primogeniture not sanctioned by private right, though it may by public advantage—Real results arising from it—Past conduct defective—Fate of Aristocracy in England.

IT follows, from all I have just been saying, that though I in no wise mean to assert that the example of France ought to be universally followed, yet that I believe the laws of succession she has established for herself, capable of salutary modifications, are the best adapted to the character, the position, the happiness of her people.

Her riches do not increase so fast as ours; but they increase in a happy proportion with her intelligence and population.

The comforts of the great masses of her inhabitants are, to say the least, as great as those of our own labourers—and upon the whole their con-

dition is better. To use the words of Mr. Birkbeck, "there are in France none of those exhibitions of profligacy which disgust you at every step in our country villages—no ragged wretches staggering home from a filthy alehouse—nor is this to be attributed to poverty! the earnings of the labourer are at least one third more in proportion than in England."—(P. 101—2.).

In fact, the man who cultivates his own field is morally a different man from the one who cultivates the field of another.

It is with a nobler and a better mind that he pursues his toil. He has a motive for energy which at once awakes his prudence and develops his affections.\*

It is the feeling of independence which Mr. Macculloch condemns, and which property

\* "It is usual for a youth of sixteen to hire himself as a domestic servant in agriculture, and when he arrives at twenty-one or twenty-two, to have laid up 400 or 500 francs—(16*l.* or 20*l.*)—With 400 francs, he buys a cottage and marries;—his wife has probably a little portion. He has an opportunity also of buying 1,500 square toises (nearly an acre and a half, English) of uncultivated mountain land—rocky and poor, but fit for vines—for this he pays fifteen or twenty francs, and becomes proprietor, having a constant resource of profitable industry in winter when work may be scarce."—(*Birkbeck*, p. 60.)

gives, that raises the heart of the French peasant; making him a better soldier, a better citizen, a better husband, a better father.

But if the passion for property has improved the character of the lower classes, the division of property has produced a beneficial effect upon the character of the upper.

It has replaced the ridiculous ostentation of the old courtly time, by a perfect indifference to stile and shew.

It has brought into manly companionship the man of wealth, the man of letters, the artist and the legislator, the noble and the manufacturer of cotton; it has destroyed prejudices which have been long passing away in England, but which, we must not forget, existed, in full force, in France but fifty years ago.

It has made a parent the friend of his child instead of the patron; it has made the son obey his father from affection, instead of adulating him from interest. "Ah ! on le voit trop," said Mirabeau, in that celebrated oration read by M. de Talleyrand after his death, "ce sont les pères qui ont fait ces lois (the old laws then existing) mais en les faisant ils n'ont pensé qu'à leur empire, et ils ont oublié leur paternité;" yes; the parents of those times thought too much of their power, too little of

their paternity!—nor can I, for my own part, bow before that prejudice which arises from an absurd confusion of ideas, and concedes, because a man may dispose of his fortune as he pleases during his life, that he has the same privilege after his death.

*There is as much difference between the rights of a man alive and dead, as between death and life.* The rights you derive from society, are the result of duties you have to perform to society; talk then of the rights of a defunct—what are his duties?—

How many instances are there where the testament which asserts the one, violates the other! How many instances are there, where the dead man commits an act of injustice from behind the tomb, which he dared not have committed in the face of public opinion!

It is not the dead father who has rights, but the living son. He has a right to the fortune left in the world by the persons who brought him into the world. He has this right equally, whether he was born first or last. The parent has no natural power over the goods he has left behind; they belong, in simple justice, to all his children. But the state has a power to supersede private rights on public grounds—and here—and here alone is the

basis on which the law of primogeniture can be founded, or the custom sanctioned and maintained.

Alas ! for the mother who has watched her four sons receiving the same education, and imbibing the same desires ; who has guarded the equality of their boyhood, and is now expecting the moment when life's inequalities are to commence, and they who have been playfellows and brothers are to become acquaintances and men ! Lo ! to one a fortune, which pampers desire—to the rest, a poverty, made insupportable by education. Alas ! I say, for the mother who sees her youngest born thrown into the world—tortured by its ambition and exposed to its temptations—crossing the seas to climes which harbour pestilence and death ; sitting in the morning of life, surrounded by dark cares, in the gloomy corner of a counting house ; driven, in the despair of an unsatisfied and querulous existence, to the turf, to the gambling-house, to Crockford's, Newmarket ! and now, across that bright spot in the heart where hope was made compatible with honor, passes the up-springing shadow of those mean and desperate thoughts which, while they offer only an ignoble object, excite a terrible determination. I see you too, unhappy

woman ! gazing bitterly on the blighted and drying-up youth of yonder daughter — on the cheek, yellow and pale, on the bosom disappearing, and the eye fading ;—I see your agony as you turn away from the encouragement of that poor girl's affections, because forsooth she loves a younger brother, and has but a poor sister's portion ! Who shall comfort you by saying that your eldest born keeps his thirty horses at Melton, and can give a £1,000 with facility for the embraces of a harlot ?

But in this private injustice, there is, I do not deny it, a great political combination. Individual affection is not sacrificed without the idea of procuring state advantage ; a certain class is created, defending the crown, protecting the people—a certain class, carrying into the state that principle of conservation to which it owes the transmission of its own power—furnishing, in its names and its position, a history of the past and an example to the future.

The real and great result of the system of inheritance, adopted by France, as compared with that system which still maintains, and which, let me allow the truth, is still cherished by many of all classes, in England,—is—not the minute and dangerous division of land,

but—the separation of land from the name of its hereditary possessor. The soil of a province may be no more divided than it was; but in ten years—still having the same number of proprietors—it may have changed those proprietors fifty times. Thus ends the connexion between a particular family and a particular spot of ground; a connexion, which whatever be the barbarity of its origin, we have long been accustomed to consider natural, and to environ with our tender respect. Thus perish those associations that yet cling to the venerable avenue and antiquated porch—associations which—let us not deny it—decorate human nature, and give to the present generation, so insufficient in itself, the memory of times gone by. Thus pass away those feelings which of old, taught the peasant to believe he was born under the wing of a legitimate protector; feelings which, whether feudal or patriarchal, sprang from something stronger than prejudice, even if they be not consecrated by philosophy.

Adieu to yon vestiges, dim and daily-fading, of other days!—You vanish altogether, should that principle vanish, which has placed England for centuries under the sway of an aristocracy, not forgetful of itself, but still mindful, I admit, of the greatness and the honor of the country.

You who would defend this aristocracy, will best do so—not by denying its faults, but by placing by the side of those faults, its virtues; not by saying that it is careless of place, repudiative of pensions, uncorrupted by kingly favour or vulgar applause; but by asserting, that, in spite of its various temptations, and its various transgressions, it nevertheless has had a heart alive to its country's greatness, and not insensible to popular rights. This aristocracy it was which carried through the camps of contending parties—which saved from the fanatic hands of Cromwell, from the faithless guardianship of Charles, which rescued from the tyranny of James, and did not lay at the feet of William—those inspiring principles which make a nation consist in a nation's people, and of which the English, though they may now be surpassed by their disciples, were the great original apostles. This aristocracy it was which, when the sovereigns of Europe were prostrate at the feet of a military despot, alone, and fearlessly placed themselves athwart his path. Nor would there, perchance, at this moment, be a democracy in France, if at the time of which I am speaking, there had not been an aristocracy in England ! In truth, the nobility of this country, notwithstanding their

errors, has been a great and illustrious race, such as few chronicles can shew and few nations ever possessed; nor would I be the mean and unjust traducer of a body, that may have a date assigned to it, but of which the glory and the recollection will long remain.

If such a nobility fall—it will fall, not because it was exposed to the rant and cant of any raving demagogue—but because placed in a new state of society its old place no longer remains to it; because inheriting the possessions of other times, it has not inherited the respect which yet attaches to yonder portraits in our ancestral halls; because other ideas have created other superiorities, and stript an order still disposed to struggle, of all faith in its force!

## A P P E N D I X.



## APPENDIX.

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### PRESS.

#### CHANGES IN RESPECT TO POST OFFICE.

I hoped to be able, when I referred to the Appendix, to mention that some change had already been effected. Such, however, is not the case ; the matter rests where it did two years ago ; but a Bill is before the House, which if carried, will make some important alterations, evincing in the meantime, the government's favourable disposition. Since the article on the Press was written and printed, slight alterations have taken place, such for instance, as the suppression of the Tribune.

I here give all the laws regulating the Press prior to the last, which as I trust a temporary and exceptional one, I have placed apart at the end of the Second volume.

### LOI

*Sur le Cautionnement, le Droit de timbre et le Port des Journaux ou Ecrits périodiques.*

A Paris, le 14, Décembre, 1830.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, ROI DES FRANÇAIS, à tous pré-sens et à venir, SALUT.

Les Chambres ont adopté, NOUS AVONS ORDONNÉ et ORDONNONS ce qui suit :

## ARTICLE PREMIER.

Si un journal ou écrit périodique paraît plus de deux fois par semaine, soit à jour fixe, soit par livraison et régulièrement, le cautionnement sera de deux mille quatre cents francs de rente.

Le cautionnement sera égal aux trois quarts du taux fixé, si le journal ou écrit périodique ne paraît que deux fois par semaine.

Il sera égal à la moitié, si le journal, ou écrit périodique ne paraît qu'une fois par semaine.

Il sera égal au quart, si le journal ou écrit périodique paraît seulement plus d'une fois par mois.

Le cautionnement des journaux quotidiens publiés dans les départemens autres que ceux de la Seine et de Seine-et-Oise sera de huit cents francs de rente dans les villes de cinquante mille âmes et au-dessus, de cinq cents francs de rente dans les autres villes, et respectivement de la moitié de ces deux rentes pour les journaux ou écrits périodiques qui paraissent à des termes moins rapprochés.

Le gérant responsable du journal devra posséder en son propre et privé nom la totalité du cautionnement.

S'il y a plusieurs gérans responsables, ils devront posséder en leur propre et privé nom, et par portions égales, la totalité du cautionnement.

Il est accordé aux gérans responsables des journaux qui auront déposé leur cautionnement à l'époque où la présente loi sera promulguée, un délai de six mois pour se conformer à ses dispositions.

La partie du cautionnement déjà fournie qui excède le taux ci-dessus fixé, sera remboursée.

## ARTICLE 2.

Le droit de timbre fixe ou de dimension, sur les journaux ou écrits périodiques, sera de six centimes pour chaque feuille de trente décimètres carrés et au-dessus, et de trois centimes pour chaque demi-feuille de quinze décimètres carrés et au-dessous.

Tout journal ou écrit périodique imprimé sur une demi-feuille de plus de quinze décimètres et de moins de trente décimètres carrés, paiera un centime en sus pour chaque cinq décimètres carrés.

Il ne sera perçu aucune augmentation de droit pour fraction au-dessous de cinq décimètres carrés.

Il ne sera perçu aucun droit pour un supplément qui n'excèdera pas trente décimètres carrés, publié par les journaux imprimés sur une feuille de trente décimètres carrés et au-dessus.

La loi du 13 vendémiaire an VI et l'article 89 de la loi du 15 mai 1818 sont et demeurent abrogés.

La loi du 6 prairial an VII est abrogée en ce qui concerne le droit de timbre sur les journaux ou feuilles périodiques.

## ARTICLE 3.

Le droit de cinq centimes fixé par l'article 8 de la loi du 15 mars 1827 pour le port sur les journaux et autres feuilles transportés hors des limites du département dans lequel ils sont publiés, sera réduit à quatre centimes.

Les mêmes feuilles ne paieront que deux centimes toutes les fois qu'elles seront destinées pour l'intérieur du département où elles auront été publiées.

## ARTICLE 4.

Les journaux imprimés en langues étrangères et ceux venant des pays d'outre-mer seront taxés au maximum du tarif établi pour les journaux français.

La présente loi, discutée, délibérée et adoptée par la Chambre des Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejord'hui, sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

**DONNONS EN MANDEMENT à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera ; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.**

Fait à Paris, au Palais-Royal, le quatorzième jour du mois de Décembre, l'an 1830.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Vu, et scellé du grand sceau : Par le Roi,

CERTIFIÉ conforme par nous,

*Garde des sceaux de France, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat au département de la justice,*

DUPONT (de l'Eure.)

A Paris, le 15 Décembre 1830.

## L O I

*Sur la Procédure en matière de Défauts de la Presse, d'affichage  
et de criage public.*

A Paris, au Palais-Royal, le 8 avril 1831.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, ROI DES FRANÇAIS, à tous présens et à venir, SALUT.

Les Chambres ont adopté, NOUS AVONS ORDONNÉ et ORDONNONS ce qui suit :

## ARTICLE 1.

Le ministère public aura la faculté de saisir les cours d'assises de la connaissance des délits commis par la voie de la presse, ou par les autres moyens de publication énoncés en l'article 1 de la loi du 17 mai 1819, en vertu de citation donnée directement au prévenu.

La même faculté existera en cas de poursuites contre les afficheurs et crieurs publics, en exécution des articles 5 et 6 de la loi du 10 décembre 1830.

## ARTICLE 2.

Le ministère public adressera son réquisitoire au président de la cour d'assises, pour obtenir indication du jour auquel le prévenu sera sommé de comparaître.

Il sera tenu d'articuler et de qualifier les provocations, attaques, offenses, outrages, faits diffamatoires ou injures, à raison desquels la poursuite est intentée, et ce, à peine de nullité de la poursuite. Le président fixera le jour de la comparution devant la cour d'assises, et commettra l'huissier qui sera chargé de la notification.

La notification du réquisitoire et de l'ordonnance du président sera faite au prévenu dix jours au moins avant celui de la comparution, outre un jour par cinq myriamètres de distance.

Si le prévenu ne compareît pas au jour fixé, il sera jugé par défaut : la cour statuera sans assistance ni intervention de jurés, tant sur l'action publique que sur l'action civile.

#### ARTICLE 3.

Le prévenu pourra former opposition à l'arrêt par défaut dans les cinq jours de la notification qui en aura été faite à sa personne ou à son domicile, outre un jour par cinq myriamètres de distance, à charge de notifier son opposition tant au ministère public qu'à la partie civile.

Le prévenu supportera sans recours les frais de l'expédition et de la signification de l'arrêt par défaut, et de l'opposition, ainsi que de l'assignation et de la taxe des témoins appelés à l'audience pour le jugement de l'opposition.

#### ARTICLE 4.

Dans les cinq jours de la notification de l'opposition, le prévenu devra déposer au greffe une requête tendant à obtenir du président de la cour d'assises une ordonnance fixant le jour du jugement de l'opposition ; elle sera signifiée à la requête du ministère public, tant au prévenu qu'au plaignant, avec assignation au jour fixé, cinq jours au moins avant l'échéance. Faute par le prévenu de remplir les formalités mises à sa charge par le présent article, ou de comparaître par lui-même au jour

fixé par l'ordonnance, l'opposition sera réputée non avenue, et l'arrêt par défaut sera définitif.

#### ARTICLE 5.

Dans le cas de saisie autorisée par l'article 7 de la loi du 26 mai 1819, les formes et délais prescrits par cette loi seront observés.

La présente loi, discutée, délibérée et adoptée par la Chambre des Paris et par celle des députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejoud'hui sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

**DONNONS EN MANDEMENT** à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera ; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.

Fait à Paris, au Palais-Royal, le 8ème jour du mois d'avril, l'an 1831.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Vu et scellé du grand sceau : Par le Roi -

*Le Garde des sceaux de France, ministre secrétaire d'état au département de la justice.*

BARTHE.

## L O I

*Sur le cautionnement des Journaux ou Ecrits périodiques,  
paraissant même irrégulièrement.*

A Paris, au Palais-Royal, le 8 avril 1831.

**LOUIS-PHILIPPE, ROI DES FRANÇAIS, à tous présens  
et à venir, SALUT.**

**Les Chambres ont adopté, NOUS AVONS ORDONNÉ et  
ORDONNONS ce qui suit :**

## ARTICLE 1.

Si un journal ou écrit périodique paraît plus de deux fois par semaine, soit à jour fixe, soit par livraisons et irrégulièrement, le cautionnement sera de deux mille quatre cents francs de rente.

## ARTICLE 2.

Le premier paragraphe de l'article 1 de la loi du 14 décembre 1830 est abrogé.

La présente loi, discutée, délibérée et adoptée par la Chambre des Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejoud'hui, sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

**DONNONS EN MANDEMENT à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera ; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.**

Fait à Paris, au Palais-Royal, le 8ème jour du mois d'avril, l'an 1831.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Vu et scellé du grand sceau : Par le Roi :

*Le Garde des sceaux de France, ministre secrétaire d'état au département de la justice.*

BARTHE,

## LOI

### SUR LES CRIEURS PUBLICS.

A Paris, au palais des Tuilleries, le 16 février 1834.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, ROI DES FRANÇAIS, à tous présens et à venir, SALUT.

Les Chambres ont adopté, NOUS AVONS ORDONNÉ et ORDONNONS ce qui suit :

#### ARTICLE PREMIER.

Nul ne pourra exercer, même temporairement, la profession de crieur, de vendeur ou de distributeur sur la voie publique, d'écrits, dessins ou emblèmes imprimés, lithographiés, autographiés, moulés, gravés ou à la main, sans autorisation préalable de l'autorité municipale.

Cette autorisation pourra être retirée.

Les dispositions ci-dessus sont applicables aux chanteurs sur la voie publique.

## ARTICLE. 2.

Toute contravention à la disposition ci-dessus sera punie d'un emprisonnement de six jours à deux mois pour la première fois, et de deux mois à un an en cas de récidive. Les contrevenans seront traduits devant les tribunaux correctionnels, qui pourront, dans tous les cas, appliquer les dispositions de l'article 463 du Code pénal.

La présente loi discutée, délibérée et adoptée par la Chambre des Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejoud'hui, sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

Donnons en mandement à nos Cours et Tribunaux Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera ; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.

Fait à Paris, au palais des Tuileries, le 16ème jour du mois de février, l'an 1834.

*Signé LOUIS-PHILIPPE.*

Vu et scellé du grand sceau : Par le Roi :

*Le Garde des sceaux de France Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat au département de la justice.*

**BARTHE.**

**NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS IN PROPORTION  
TO INHABITANTS.**

**ONE PAPER TO INHABITANTS.**

The Globe . . . . .	230,000
Asia . . . . .	14,400,000
Africa . . . . .	5,000,000
Oceana . . . . .	2,200,000
Europe . . . . .	106,000
America . . . . .	40,000

**STATES OF EUROPE.**

Spain . . . . .	869,000
Russia and Poland . . . . .	674,000
Sardinia . . . . .	540,000
Austrian Empire . . . . .	367,471
Portugal, { . . . . .	210,000
Grand Duchy of Tuscany } . . . . .	
Confederation of Switzerland . . . . .	66,000
France . . . . .	52,117
Sweden and Norway . . . . .	47,000
Britanic Isles . . . . .	48,800
Germanic Confederation . . . . .	44,000
Prussian Monarchy . . . . .	43,070
Low Countries . . . . .	40,953

**TOWNS.**

Rome . . . . .	51,000
Madrid . . . . .	50,000
Lisbon . . . . .	21,670
Vienna . . . . .	11,338
Petersburg . . . . .	10,667
Geneva . . . . .	6,250
Berlin . . . . .	4,074
Paris . . . . .	3,739

Brussels . . . . .	3,030
Stockholm . . . . .	2,600
Leipsic, Weimar, Jena . . . .	1,100
London . . . . .	11,250*

## RELIGION.

“ On avait séduit la France,” says M. de Châteaubriand, “ en lui disant que le christianisme était un culte né du sein de la barbarie, absurde dans ses dogmes, ridicule dans ses cérémonies, ennemi des arts et des lettres, de la raison et de la beauté ; un culte qui n'avait fait que verser le sang, enchaîner les hommes, et retarder le bonheur et les lumières du genre humain : on devait donc chercher à prouver, au contraire, que de toutes les religions qui ont jamais existé la religion chrétienne est la plus *poétique*, la plus humaine, la plus favorable à la liberté, *aux arts et aux lettres* ; que le monde moderne lui doit tout, depuis l'agriculture jusqu'aux sciences abstraites ; depuis l'hospice pour les malheureux, jusqu'aux temples bâtis par Michel-Ange, et décorés par Raphaël. On devait montrer qu'il n'y a rien de plus divin que sa morale ; rien de plus aimable, de plus pompeux que ses dogmes, sa doctrine et son culte : on devait dire qu'elle favorise le génie, *épure le goût*, développe les passions vertueuses, donne de la vigueur à la pensée, offre des formes nobles à l'écrivain, et des moules parfaits à l'artiste ; qu'il n'y a point de honte à croire avec Newton et Bossuet, Pascal et Racine : enfin il fallait appeler tous les enchantemens de l'imagination, et tous les intérêts du cœur au secours de cette même religion contre laquelle on les avait armés.”—*Génie du Christianisme*, p. 10, 11. vol. I.

\* M. A. Balbi.

ALL PASSAGES OR WORDS NOT TRANSLATED  
IN THE TEXT WILL BE FOUND AMONG  
THE FOLLOWING:

## LIGHT LITERATURE.

PAGE 46.

NEANT—is equivalent to CHAOS.

## THE PRESS.

PAGE 57.

The Jesuits with short gowns—The Seids of power.

PAGE 70.

The temple of the Newspaper Office.

The responsibility of the National rests from this day, entirely upon my head ; if any man shall indulge himself in gross abuse of that paper, he will find one who will call him to an account.

## RELIGION.

PAGE 98.

His most christian majesty.

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PAGE 100.

**The Stag Park.**

PAGE 108.

**The Church Party—and the self-styled Royalist Party.**

PAGE 111.

**Down with the Jesuits.**

PAGE 115.

But he is a Methodist, is he not?

Well, I will tell you what passed between him and me.

You are a Protestant, I suppose Sir?

No, Sir, I am no Protestant.

You are no Protestant, and no Catholic, are you then a Mahometan or a Jew?

No, I am neither Protestant, Catholic, Mahometan, or Jew.

What religion are you of then?

Sir, I profess the religion of Socrates.

Well, will you believe me? this member of your House of Commons appeared much shocked.

PAGE 121.

A box at the theatre, obscured from public view by railing.

PAGE 122.

**A cassock.**

PAGE 132.

**The Clergy under Oath, of 1789.****The Clergy of the Romish party.**

The late dispute between M. de la Mennais and the Pope, deprived him, no doubt, in some degree of that title of which he was formerly ostentatious.

PAGE 134.

"The Words of a Believer," by the Abbé de la Mennais.

#### PROTESTANTISM.

PAGE 142.

Mixed Churches.

PAGE 145.

A district town.

PAGE 147.

Deacons.

PAGE 153.

The pastors and deputies of the churches, present at Paris, at the sitting of the religious associations, and met in a brotherly conference on Wednesday, April 24, 1833, in the hall of the consistory of the Church of the Oratory, unanimously agreed :

1st. That, henceforth, in each year, on the day of General Assembly of the Biblical Society, at 9 o'clock in the morning, the co-pastors, and suffragan-pastors of the National Churches of the two Evangelical Congregations, and the lay-deputies of the said churches, shall meet in brotherly conference.

2ndly. That these conferences shall commence with solemn prayer.

3rdly. That the sitting shall continue under the Presidency of the Dean by seniority of the pastors, by the nomination by secret ballot, of a President and a Secretary, who shall immediately enter on their functions.

4thly. That these sittings shall re-commence daily at the same hour.

5thly. That the verified report of conferences shall be lithographed, or printed, and be transmitted to all the churches, and to all the pastors throughout France.

6thly. That the pastors of the two congregations of Paris shall form a committee of correspondence with the consistories and pastors, shall give them information of the present resolutions and shall prepare, as far as possible, the documents, and subjects for discussion.

#### NEW PHILOSOPHIES.

##### PAGE 170.

Letters to the board of longitude.

Letters on the *Encyclopédie*.

An introduction to the scientific works of the nineteenth century.

“ Memoirs” upon Gravitation.

##### PAGE 181.

The theory of the four movements.

##### PAGE 186.

O my cotemporaries! I see you all in search of a religion, neither for yourselves, nor for your immediate posterity; but each day in your reveries, the word religion hangs upon your lip.

## DIVISION OF PROPERTY.

PAGE, 203.

The custom of fallows was formerly general in Normandy, but it is every day passing away. At the beginning of this century, this custom might be esteemed, or the department in general, to extend over only half the soil it extended over in 1790 and 92, and now it is only seen in one tenth of the land consecrated to cultivation.

*M. Lorid.*

PAGE 225.

To the War Office.

PAGE 229.

Note.—The division of landed estates, which has taken place in every quarter of the kingdom, has caused an independence more uniformly diffused; it has given the means for wealth and health to numerous families which partook not of them at any earlier period. Moreover, the new channels of industry have given work to many artisans and labourers.

On the Productive and Commercial Means.

In contemplating the rapid progress which France, has made in agriculture.

PAGE 248.

Each of us could, more or less easily, fulfil a task, easy for the government, more difficult for individuals, not indeed for the whole of France, but for some par-

ticular spot, which, once known, would lead to an appreciation of the rest.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have done it, Gentlemen, in part for the arrondissement, which is more particularly known to me, and in the prosperity of which gratitude, and all the sentiments of nature command me to feel a more particular interest.

With a small exception, all the inhabitants are proprietors. The love of property is pushed to its greatest extent; among the fathers of families and among their children; among the rich, and among the poor—it is the prevailing want and sentiment of all.

\* \* \* \* \*

The equal partition of successions is the most common and general rule; there, as in the great majority of the other arrondissements of France, the persons at their ease dispose rarely of the share at their disposition. The examples of it are few, I know none near me in any class of society, the peasants excepted; and with these it is not the whole 'préciput' which they dispose of, but this or that piece of land; not from any habitual preference in favour of the eldest, but more often from gratitude to that one of their children who has remained near them, partaken of their labours, and taken care of their age.

Well, in that arrondissement—*instead* of the *division of property* having increased within the last twelve years property has agglomerated.

In 1815, the number of persons paying the tax were forty-two thousand and some hundreds; in 1825, by a diminution, gradual and successive, this figure is reduced to about forty thousand. So that the agglomeration in ten years, has been about two thousand proprietors or about two fortieths.

I do not pretend that it is thus in every arrondissement in the kingdom; nevertheless all the other isolated information, which others of my colleagues have had the kindness to shew me, are far from contrary to the example which I have just been citing.

*D. Decazes.*

PAGE 251.

In the Lower Pyrenees, the law of inheritance is readily followed out in the customary division of paternal lands—and there is but little parcelling out of estates.

The parcelling out is caused by the desire of each child inheriting, to have a portion of each description of land.

PAGE. 255.

When I inhabited the ports of Flanders, and more especially those of Provence, I was always astonished to hear the people of the country distinguish the persons born in the centre of France, calling them 'Francists' and treating them as strangers.... When in 1825 and 1826, I occupied myself with procuring, from the working classes of our departments, the most simple elements of the sciences, applied to the arts, I fell into an astonishment, from which I can hardly yet return, in seeing, that on all the points of our immense frontiers, at Bayonne as at Dunkerque, at Strasbourg, at Quimper, at Montpellier as at Mulhouse, one of the greatest obstacles that the professors had encountered, was in the difficulty they had to make intelligible the French language, so expressive and correct, to man who can only think with facility by the aid of strange idioms and a barbarous patois.—*Ch. Dupin.*

## PAGE 287.

Even already, said M. Pasquier, consequences resulting therefrom, have arisen in that country (England) which imperatively demand the attention of legislators and statesmen. Whoever does not shut his eyes to all the chances of afflictions, with which the manufacturing classes are constantly menaced, must necessarily contemplate with uneasiness the future possible fate of so considerable a mass of the population, whom a disastrous war, or a successful rivalry, may deprive suddenly of the greater part of their means of support.

## PAGE. 289.

With a greater division of property the spirit of the proprietors necessarily spreads itself into a greater portion of society.—*M. Pasquier.*

## PAGE 289.

With a greater numerical amount of properties, the character which belongs to a proprietor, is necessarily shared by a greater portion of the people.

## PAGE 292.

Ah! it is too evident that those laws were made by fathers, who in passing them thought only of maintaining their own authority, and lost sight of their parental affection.

END OF VOL I.

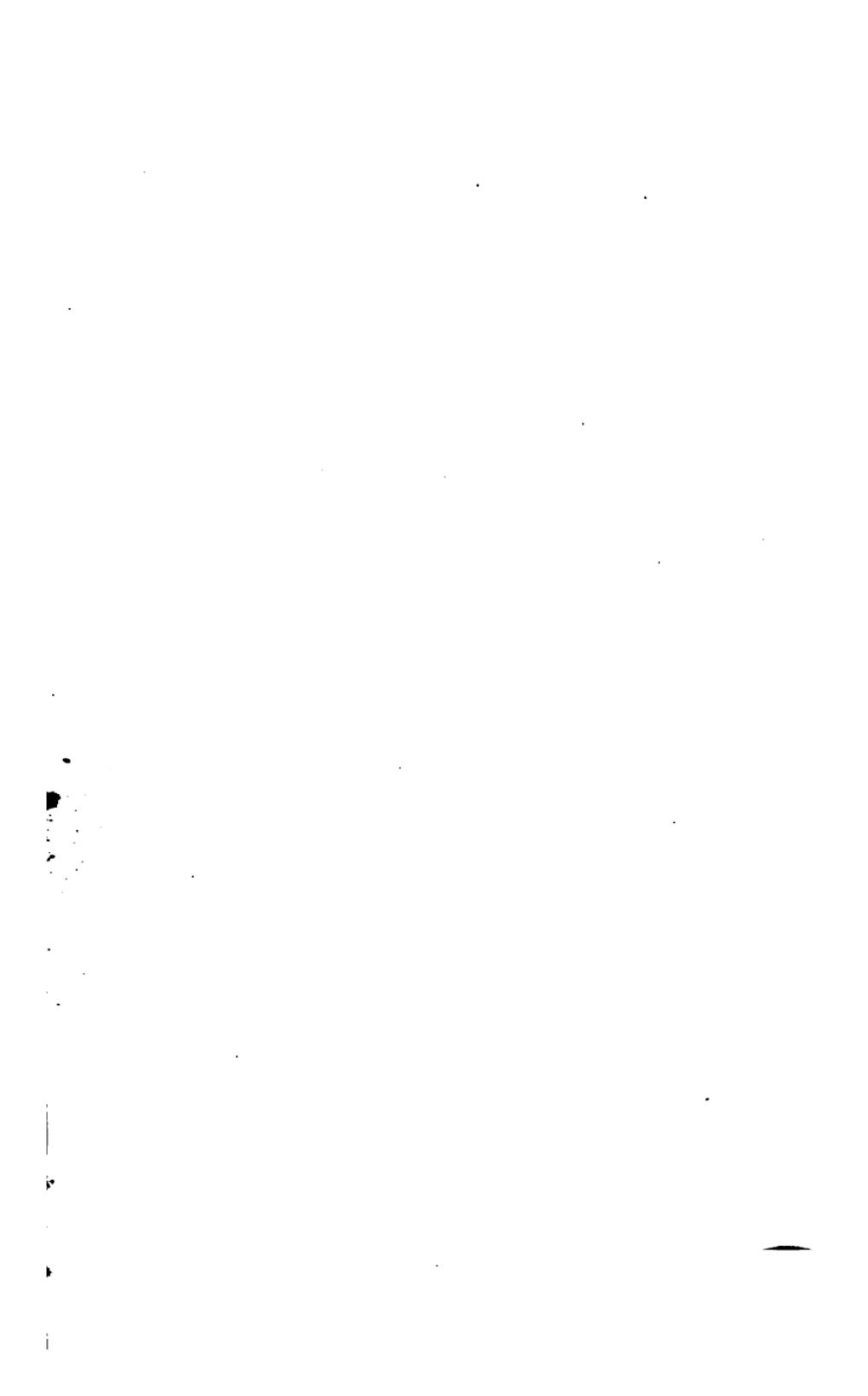
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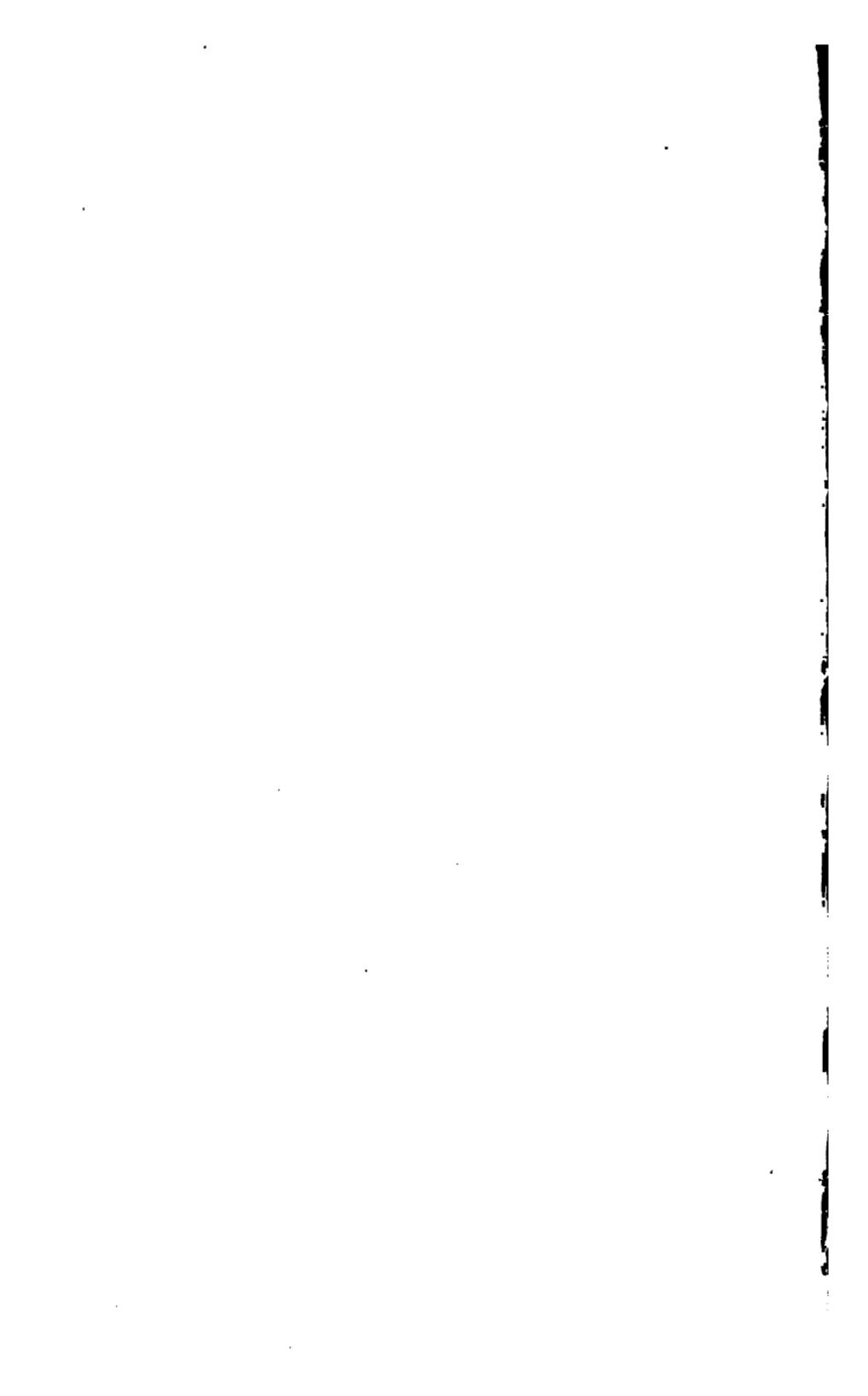


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